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THE

ASSYRIAN EPONYM CANON.

BY

GEORGE SMITH.

THE

ASSYRIAN EPONYM CANON;

CONTAINING TRANSLATIONS OF THE DOCUMENTS, AND

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EVIDENCE, ON

THE COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF THE

ASSYRIAN AND JEWISH KINGDOMS,

FROM THE DEATH OF SOLOMON TO NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

BY

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Multæ terricolis linguæ, cœlestibus una.

LONDON:

SAMUEL BAGSTER AND SONS,

15, PATERNOSTER ROW.

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PREFACE.

THE Assyrian Eponym Canon will, I think, require little preface or excuse. There is a general desire among all persons interested in Biblical and Assyrian history to have, in as complete a form as possible, the translations of the Assyrian eponym canon, and the accompanying historical dates and inscriptions. Having these monuments under my charge, to satisfy this wish I have prepared the present work. I have searched through the whole of our national collection, and picked out every date and circumstance likely to be of use in these chronological enquiries. I have translated these for the present work, and have collected in it an amount of evidence for the use of students not before available. The labour of these researches can only be estimated by those who know something of the extent and condition of the texts. I have, in

the course of its preparation, examined over a thousand fragmentary Assyrian historical inscriptions, and I quote in the body of the book more than three hundred Assyrian documents. Others beside chronologists will be interested in the new texts I have given, especially those of the time of Esarhaddon, containing his war with Tirhakah, and the association of his son, Assurbanípal, on the throne of Assyria. Many chronologists will differ from me as to my conclusions, but I think all will agree with my main purpose in setting together the Assyrian evidence, to enable students to estimate the contemporary materials bearing on any question of the time of the Jewish kings.

It will be understood that the numbers and letters before dates and extracts, as K 398 at the top of p. 89, refer to the numbers of the objects in the British Museum collection, and will enable them to be found in case of reference. I have only to add, that in comparing so many dates, accidental cases of error in the numbers may escape me; but I have tried to check this, and hope that the data will be found reliable throughout.

THE ASSYRIAN EPONYM CANON.

CHAPTER I.

Former Literature and Systems of Chronology.

THE chronology of the period of the kings of Judah and Israel has formed a fruitful subject of discussion in all subsequent ages. Works have been written on this epoch from the time of the Greek kings of Egypt until now, and yet we are unable, after the lapse of two thousand years, to settle the leading dates. The difficulties which stand in the way have led some to throw on one side entirely the chronological question; this result is unfortunate because history cannot be satisfactory without chronology.

The discovery of the Cuneiform Inscriptions, and particularly of the Assyrian eponym canon, altered the condition of the problem, and introduced much new evidence on the one side while it increased the difficulties on the other.

The publication of numerous contemporary documents and official chronological works, turned the discussion of the chronology of the kings of Judah and Israel into entirely new channels, and made a marked difference between the works published before and after the discovery of the Assyrian inscriptions.

In the discussion of these matters I have sometimes joined, after discovering new points of contact between the Books of Kings and the Assyrian inscriptions, or additions to the Assyrian eponym canon, but my own opinions have completely altered since I took up the study, and this is the first time I have ventured to give a complete system of chronology for this period. I still consider the chronology very doubtful in some places, and my views differ widely from those of the other chronologists who have taken up the subject. I have therefore, wherever it is necessary, noted their conclusions along with the evidence for settling the questions.

In tracing the more prominent chronological works written since the discovery of the Assyrian canon, preference must be given to those of Sir Henry Rawlinson, the discoverer of this document. Sir Henry Rawlinson has not given any system of chronology, and with respect to the changes in Jewish dates, rendered necessary by the discovery of the Assyrian canon, he has generally contented himself with the view that a reduction of about forty years is required for the date of the accession of Jehu, and he has occasionally suggested lower dates for other Scripture events between the accession of Jehu and

that of Manasseh. The remarks and views of Sir Henry Rawlinson were published in the *Athenæum*, No. 1805, May 31, 1862; No. 1812, July 19, 1862; No. 1869, August 22, 1863; No. 2055, March 15, 1867, and No. 2080, September 7, 1867.

The Rev. Canon Rawlinson, who has taken part in this discussion, has generally adopted the views of his brother.

Dr. Hincks, a distinguished Assyrian scholar and chronologist, unfortunately died during the discussion of the canon, having contributed little to the matter except some critical remarks and doubts.

Professor Oppert, who early took up the study, has given his final opinions in a paper communicated to the *Revue Archéologique*, called "La Chronologie Biblique," Paris, 1868.

The system of dates given by Professor Oppert at the conclusion of his paper, "Chronologie Biblique," is:—

B.C.

930 Accession of Sardanapulus III. (Assurnazir-pal).
905 Accession of Shalmaneser III.
900 Defeat of Ben-hadad and Ahab. Death of Ahab.
874 Jubilee of Shalmaneser.
870 Reign of Samas-bin.
857 Reign of Belochus and Semiramis.
828 Reign of Shalmaneser IV.
818 Reign of Assuredilel.
810 Accession of Uzziah of Judah.
809 13th of June, eclipse of the sun.

800 Reign of Assurlikhis.
792 First capture of Nineveh. Interruption of the eponymes during forty-seven years.
759 First reign of Pekah.
758 Reign of Jotham.
744 Accession of Tiglath Pileser.
742 Reign of Ahaz and Menahem II.
737 Tribute of Menahem to king of Assyria.
733 Campaign of the Assyrians against Pekah.
730 Accession of Hoshea.
727 Accession of Shalmaneser V. and of Hezekiah.
724 Commencement of the siege of Samaria.
722 Death of Shalmaneser V.
721 Reign of Sargon, capture of Samaria.
713 Illness of Hezekiah.
704 Reign of Sennacherib.
700 Expedition to Judah.
698 Reign of Manasseh.
680 Reign of Esarhaddon.
667 Reign of Sardanapalus and his brother Samoul-samoukin.
643 Reign of Amon in Judah.
641 Reign of Josiah.
610 Reign of Jehoiakim.
606 Destruction of Nineveh.
599 Reign of Jehoiachin and Zedekiah.
588 Destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar.

The main feature of Dr. Oppert's system is the view that there was a break in the eponym canon

between B.C. 792 and 744, forty-seven years being here, according to him, omitted. The insertion of this period of forty-seven years makes all his earlier Assyrian dates forty-six years too high, and his later ones one year too low.

Professor F. Lenormant, who has written on Assyrian history, has generally followed the dates of Professor Oppert.

The Rev. D. H. Haigh, another Assyrian scholar, sums up a series of ingenious articles on the Assyrian canon and comparative chronology in the *Zeitschrift fur Aegyptische Sprache*, August, 1871, with the following system of chronology embodying his views:—

B.C.	EGYPT.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.	ASSYRIA.
1041	. . .	David	. . .	Assurrabbur
1014	Re-maka = Pinetem			
1005	Asemχeb			
1000		Salomo	. . .	Irbabarku
999	Pinetem			
990	Horpasusanu			
976	Sasank I.	. . .	. . .	Assuriddinaχi
960	. . .	Reχabeam	Yarubeam	
955	Uasarkan I.	. . .	. . .	Assurdayan
943	. . .	Abyahu		
940	Tekelut I.	Asa		
939	. . .	. . .	Nadab	
938	. . .	. . .	Baasa	

B.C.	EGYPT.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.	ASSYRIA.
931	. . .	. . .	. . .	Barkunarar II.
915	. . .	. . .	Ela	
913	. . .	. . .	Zimri	
			Umri	
909	. . .	. . .	. . .	TukultininipII.
903	Uasarkan II.	. . .	. . .	Assurnazirpal
901	. . .	. . .	Aχab	
899	. . .	Yahusapat		
879	. . .	. . .	Aχazyahu	
878	Sasank II.	. . .	. . .	Salmanuris II.
877	. . .	. . .	Yahuram	
874	. . .	Yahuram		
866	. . .	Aχazyahu		
865	. . .	Atalyahu	Yahua	
859	Tekelut II.	Yahuas		
843	. . .	. . .	. . .	Assurdaninpal
837	. . .	. . .	Yahuaχaz	
829	Sasank III.	. . .		
824	. . .	. . .	. . .	SamsibarkuIII.
820	. . .	. . .	Yahuas	
819	. . .	Amasyahu		
815	. . .	. . .	Yarubeam II.	
811	. . .	. . .	. . .	BarkunararIII.
800	Amunrut			
799	Pianχi			
790	. . .	Azriyahu		
782	. . .	. . .	. . .	Salmanuris III.

B.C.	EGYPT.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.	ASSYRIA.
778	Petsabast			
772	. . .	. . .	. . .	Assuridilil III.
754	. . .	. . .	. . .	Assurnarar
753	. . .	. . .	Zakaryahu	
752	. . .	. . .	Sallum	
			Minaχim	
745	. . .	. . .	. . .	Tukultipalesar II.
741	. . .	. . .	Pakaχyahu	
739	. . .	. . .	Pakaχ	
738	Uasarkan III.	Yutam		
730	Psamut			
727	. . .	. . .	. ⁉ .	T. and Salmanuris
722	. . .	Aχaz		
721	. . .	. . .	. . .	Sarukin
720	Bokenrenef	. . .	(interregnum)	
714	Sabaka			
711. 0	. . .	. . .	Husi	
706	. . .	χazakyahu		
705	. . .	. . .	. . .	Sinaχiirib
702	Sabatoka			
701	. . .	. . .	Minaχim	
696			———	
690	Taharka			
681	. . .	. . .	Abibaal	Assuraχiddin
677	. . .	Minasi		
668	. . .	. . .	. . .	Assurbanipal

B.C.	EGYPT.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.	ASSYRIA.
664	Psametik I.			
642	. . .	Amon		
640	. . .	Yusyahu	BABYLON	
626	. . .	. . .	Nabupalusur	Assuridilili
610	Nekau			
609	. . .	Yahuaχaz		
		Yahuyakim		
605	. . .	. . .	Nabukudurusur	
598	. . .	Yahuyakin		
		Sidekyahu		
594	Psametik II.	. . .	. . .	
589	Haafra	. . .		
587	. . .			
570	Aahmes			
562	. . .	. . .	Avilmaruduk	
560	. . .	. . .	Nirgalsarusur	
556	. . .	. . .	Nabuna'id	
539	. . .	. . .	Kuras	
530	. . .	. . .	Kambuziya	
526	Psametik III.			

The Rev. D. H. Haigh also suggests a break in the Assyrian canon of nineteen years, from B.C. 843 to B.C. 824. The great objection to his system lays in his denying the statement of Tiglath Pileser, that Hoshea began to reign in his time (Haigh gives this

inscription to Sargon), and his assertion that Samaria was taken in the reign of Sennacherib.

Following in the same direction, but to a far greater length, comes the system of Mr. J. W. Bosanquet, which is summed up in its most recent form in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. III., Part I.

The following table is abridged from this and other papers of Mr. Bosanquet:—

B.C.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.	ASSYRIA.
993	Solomon		
953	Rehoboam	Jeroboam	
936	Abijah		
933	Asa	Nadab	
931	. . .	Baasha	
928	. . .	. . .	Vul-nirari
908	. . .	. . .	Tukulti-ninip
907	. . .	Elah	
906	. . .	Zimri	
906	. . .	Omri	
902	. . .	. . .	Assur-nazir-pal
894	. . .	Ahab	
892	Jehoshaphat		
877	. . .	. . .	Shalmaneser II.
872	. . .	Ahaziah	
871	. . .	Joram	
868	Jehoram		
861	Ahaziah		

B.C.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.	ASSYRIA.
860	Athaliah	Jehu	
842	. . .	. . .	Assurdaninpal
854	Jehoash		
832	. . .	Jehoahaz	
823	. . .	. . .	Samsi-vul III.
815	. . .	Jehoash	
814	Amaziah		
810	. . .	. . .	Vul-nirari
800	. . .	Jeroboam	
785	Uzziah		
781	. . .	. . .	Shalmaneser
771	. . .	. . .	Assur-dayan
759	. . .	interregnum	
753	. . .	. . .	Assur-nirari
747	. . .	Zechariah	
746	. . .	Menahem	
745	. . .	. . .	Tiglath Pileser
736	. . .	Pekahiah	
735	. . .	Pekah	
734	Jotham		
727	. . .	. . .	Shalmaneser
722	. . .	. . .	Sargon
718	Ahaz		
715	. . .	end of reign of Pekah	
706	. . .	Hoshea	
705	. . .	. . .	Sennacherib
702	Hezekiah		

B.C.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.	ASSYRIA.
697	. . .	capture of Samaria	
681	. . .	. . . .	Esarhaddon
673	Manasseh		
668	. . .	. . .	Assurbanipal
626	. . .	. . .	death of Assurbanipal
618	Amon		
616	Josiah		

The chronological system of Mr. Bosanquet is impossible; but Assyriologists are under great obligations to him for the noble manner in which he supports their labours.

A little work, published by Mr. S. Sharpe, called *Chronology of the Bible*, has been the foundation of another school of chronology. This work deals only with Biblical dates; and the accession of the Hebrew kings according to it, are:

B.C.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
936	Rehoboam	Jeroboam
919	Abijam	
917	Asa	
916	. . . . .	Nadab
915	. . . . .	Baasha
892	. . . . .	Elah?

B.C.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
891	. . . . .	Omri
880	. . . . .	Ahab
877	Jehosaphat	
861	. . . . .	Ahaziah
860	. . . . .	Jehoram
856	Jehoram	
849	Ahaziah and Athaliah	Jehu
843	Jehoash	
821	. . . . .	Jehoahaz
807	. . . . .	Jehoash
806	Amaziah	
804	. . . . .	Jeroboam
801	Azariah	
764	. . . . .	Zachariah
763	. . . . .	Menahem
752	. . . . .	Pekahiah
750	. . . . .	Pekah
749	Jotham	
741	Ahaz	
730	. . . . .	Hoshea
727	Hezekiah	
722	. . . . .	Captivity of Samaria
698	Manasseh	
643	Amon	
641	Josiah	

Following in the steps of Mr. Sharpe, came Ernest de Bunsen, who published a work with the same title

as that of Mr. Sharpe, *Chronology of the Bible*. The dates of Ernest de Bunsen are slightly lower than Mr. Sharpe's; he commences four years later: his date of Rehoboam and Jeroboam being 932 B.C., but by the time of Jehu he only differs two years: his date being B.C. 847. All his next dates are two years lower down, to Manasseh, who is given at B.C. 697, one year below Mr. Sharpe, and at the accession of Josiah the two coincide, B.C. 641.

Ernest de Bunsen is supported by Rev. A. H. Sayce, and his system accords in most places with the statements of the inscriptions, but it does not agree in respect to the reigns of Azariah of Judah, and Menahem of Samaria, which, according to the Assyrian records, synchronise with the reign of Tiglath Pileser.

In Germany the study of these chronological questions has been pursued with characteristic ardour, the way being led by Professor Lepsius, who published an excellent account of the Assyrian canon, called *Uber den Chronologischen werth der Assyrischen Eponymen*, 1869.

After this came an admirable work by Professor Schrader, called *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 1872, in which the bearings of the Assyrian inscriptions on all the passages of the Bible involved were excellently and critically discussed, and the best suggestions were given for correcting the chronology. It is true that in the main identification of Pul with Tiglath Pileser, Schrader had been preceded by Sir Henry Rawlinson, but the German scholar added so much weight to this argument that it may fairly be

called his own. It is to be regretted that Professor Schrader has not given any comparative tables or exact chronological results.

Germany has contributed another Assyrian chronologist in Professor H. Brandes, who in 1874 published his *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des Orients*. Professor Brandes assumes that several of the kings of Judah and Israel reigned contemporaneously, and he thus compiles the following dates of the accessions of Jewish kings to compare with the Assyrian:—

B.C.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
929	Rehoboam	Jeroboam
912	Abijam	
910	Asa	
908	. . . . .	Nadab
907	. . . . .	Baasha
884	. . . . .	Elah
883	. . . . .	Omri
874	. . . . .	Ahab
869	Jehosaphat	
853	. . . . .	Ahaziah
852	. . . . .	Jehoram
848	Jehoram	
841	Ahaziah, Athaliah	Jehu
835	Joash	
813	. . . . .	Jehoahaz
799	. . . . .	Joash
798	Amaziah	

B.C.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
796	. . . . .	Jeroboam
793	Uzziah	
756	. . . . .	Zachariah
755	. . . . .	Menahem
750	. . . . .	Pekah
749	Jotham	
741	Ahaz	
738	. . . . .	Pekahiah
730	. . . . .	Hoshea
727	Hezekiah	
722	. . . . .	Capture of Samaria
696	Manasseh	
641	Amon	
639	Josiah	

Other writers have joined in the discussion of these questions but have not produced original or complete systems of chronology. My own former papers on the subject have only taken in parts of the chronology, and I have reserved a full account of my own conclusions for the final chapter of the present work. I may, however, state here, that I first suggested some of my present views in a paper read before the Society of Biblical Archæology, and printed in Vol. II. In this short notice of the works of other scholars, to whose labours I have alluded in this chapter, I have of course not been able to do justice to their argu-

ments and proofs, and I have confined myself, as much as possible, to a statement of their principal results; but it will be easily seen, that among so many different dates for the same events, more than one cannot possibly be right, and it is quite possible that all are wrong.

CHAPTER II.

Assyrian calendar; methods of dating documents; institution and order of the eponymes.

IN a country which has no settled calendar, anything like accurate chronology is impossible; and the possession of a regular system of registering and dating events, necessarily implies some advance in civilization.

One great value of the Assyrian records lays in the excellent system they adopted for registering events, and the perfection of their chronology. We are through these aids enabled to compare the Assyrian records critically with those of the surrounding nations, and thus they throw much light, not only on the events in which the Assyrians were actually in contact with their neighbours; but on other circumstances in which the indirect influence of Assyria is observed.

Ever since the first discovery of the Assyrian

inscriptions a constant discussion has gone on as to the chronology of Western Asia, and particularly of the Hebrew kingdoms, and every circumstance known to have any bearing on the subject has been examined with care and attention.

It is evident from the Assyrian inscriptions that there was a regular chronological computation in Babylonia, reaching up at least to the beginning of the twenty-third century B.C.; and in Assyria to at least the nineteenth century B.C. The period of the Assyrian canon comprehended in the present work, does not ascend to anything like this antiquity, for there is no date in question with respect to it, earlier than B.C. 1000; and if the Assyrians knew the dates of events more than 2,000 years B.C., we may safely trust them with reference to the comparatively modern period of the Hebrew kings.

The first question in reference to the subject is as to the nature of the Assyrian calendar.

The Assyrian year consisted of twelve lunar months, each month commencing on the evening when the new moon was first observed; or in case the moon was not observed, the new month started thirty days after the last month. The months were thus all either of twenty-nine or thirty days, and these two numbers generally, but not always, alternated. In *C. I.* vol. iii. p. 51, l. 7-13, we read:

"On the 27th day the moon was visible; on the 28th day, the 29th day, and 30th day observations for an eclipse we made; but it passed, and an eclipse did not take place; the first day when the moon was seen the day of the month Tammuz fixed."

The Assyrian year commenced at the vernal equinox, the new moon next before the equinox marking the commencement of the new year; the equinox thus falling some time during the first month, Nisan. In *C. I.* vol. iii. p. 51, are two reports giving the day when the equinox fell. One is:

"On the 6th day of Nisan, the day and night are equal, 6 kaspu the day, 6 kaspu the night."

The other reads:

"On the 15th day of Nisan, the day and night are equal, 6 kaspu the day, 6 kaspu the night."

Twelve lunar months make about 354 days, or 11 days less than the year of 365 days; therefore, in order to keep their year in its proper position in regard to the seasons, they adopted an occasional thirteenth month, to be intercalated whenever the twelfth month ended more than 30 days before the equinox.

As the Assyrians had official astronomers, who observed the heavens and regulated the calendar, they could not be far out in their calculations; probably one or two days would be the limit of error. On the average, in the Assyrian calendar the year would begin about fourteen days before the vernal equinox, and the fifteenth day of the tenth month would thus be about the longest night. In accordance with this, on one fragment I found a list of the comparative length of the night in an average Assyrian year, and the longest night was fixed in it on the fifteenth day of the tenth month.

Among the Assyrians the first twenty-eight days of every month were divided into four weeks of seven days each, the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and

twenty-eighth days, respectively, being sabbaths; and there was a general prohibition of work on these days.

Besides the ordinary Veader, or intercalary thirteenth month, the Assyrians had two other intercalary months, one a second Nisan, the other a second Elul. When all three intercalary months were used, the year would have fifteen months; and judging from the fact that an intercalation of three months is required in every eight years, it appears probable that these two extra months were connected with a cycle of eight years: seven years in succession being normal, that is having twelve months each, while the eighth year has fifteen. Only in early Babylonian dated tablets have I found any notice of this fifteen month year, and it may be doubted if it was ever used in Assyria.

The following is a table of the Assyrian calendar including these intercalary months.

ASSYRIAN CALENDAR.

ASSYRIAN MONTHS.	JEWISH MONTHS.	APPROXIMATE ENGLISH MONTHS.
Nisannu	Nisan	March
2nd Nisannu		(intercalary month)
Airu	Iyyar	April
Sivanu	Sivan	May
Dusu	Tammuz	June
Abu	Ab	July
Ululu	Elul	August

ASSYRIAN CALENDAR, *Continued.*

ASSYRIAN MONTHS.	JEWISH MONTHS.	APPROXIMATE ENGLISH MONTHS.
2nd Ululu		(intercalary month)
Tasritu	Tisri	September
Arah-samna	Marchesvan	October
Kisilivu	Kislev	November
Debitu	Tebet	December
Sabatu	Sebat	January
Addaru	Adar	February
Mahru sa addaru	Ve-adar	(intercalary month)

Among the Assyrians the regnal years of the kings were not reckoned from the day of accession, but from the Assyrian new year's day either before, or after, the day of accession. There does not appear to have been any fixed rule as to which new year's day should be chosen, but from the number of known cases, it appears to have been the general practice to count the regnal years, from the new year's day next after the accession; and to call the period between the accession day, and first new year's day, "The beginning of the reign;" while the year from the new year's day was called the "First year;" and the following ones were numbered successively from it. Nevertheless, in the dates of several Assyrian and Babylonian sovereigns, there are cases of the year of accession being considered as the first year, thus giving two reckonings for the reigns of the following monarchs:

NAMES.	YEAR OF ACCESSION.	DATES OF 1ST YEAR.
Shalmaneser	860	860—859
Tiglath Pileser	745	745—744
Sargon	722	722—721
Sennacherib	705	705—704
Nebuchadnezzar	605	605—604

In Assyria the practice of dating documents according to the regnal years of the reigning monarchs was seldom used: by far the greater number of inscriptions being dated by the names of certain officers called by the Assyrians *limu*; a word which, by general consent, is translated "eponym." The Assyrian *limu* or eponymes were appointed according to a general rotation; and each one in succession held office for a year, and gave name to that year; the usage of the Assyrians in this respect being similar to that of the Archons at Athens, and the Consuls at Rome. The Lord Mayors of London are also appointed for a year, and a parallel case would be presented, if we dated our documents according to the years when successive Lord Mayors held office: calling the years after their names.

Originally the majority of the Assyrian eponymes were governors of the principal towns and districts, and this leads to the inference that the eponymes were an institution dating from the time when Assyria consisted of a confederacy of small states, before the rise of the Assyrian empire. This would make the eponymes very ancient: their foundation probably being as early as B.C. 2,000.

There has been some difference of opinion as to the

season of the year when the eponymes were changed, it has been suggested that the new eponymes were appointed at the beginning of the seventh month and when the evidence of the inscriptions proved this impossible the commencement of the eleventh month was suggested. The dated tablets of the reign of Sargon prove, however, that the change of the eponymes took place either at the commencement of the twelfth, or the first month; for a series of tablets commenced in the 11th month in the 16th year of Sargon, when Mutaggil-assur was eponym, were in progress in the first month of the 17th year, when Pahar-bel was eponym.

From this it appears highly probable that the epoch of the new year was the time for instituting the new eponym; and certainly it cannot have taken place long before that period.

From some slight indications I believe that the eponym was "nominated" or "appointed" some time before he entered on his office; probably he was appointed at the commencment of the year, and entered on his office one twelvemonth later, thus every year an eponym would enter on his office, and his successor would be appointed or nominated. Probably in consequence of this it happened in most if not every case, that the kings (who as a rule took the office of eponym once after their accession) did not enter on that office until more than one clear year had passed since their accession. If they had to be nominated on the first new year after their accession, and to take the office of eponym on the second new year, this would be accounted for.

In the ordinary rotation of the eponymes, the series was commenced by the king, and he was followed by the *tartan*, who was commander-in-chief of the forces and represented the army.

After the tartan generally came the *niru-ekali*, or chief of the palace, the great representative of the state; he was followed by the *rab-bitur* or head of the priesthood, who represented the national religion; while the *tukulu*, a military officer in attendance on the king, came next. These four officers, together with the king, formed the principal eponymes and representatives of the government of the country, and they were followed by the governors of various chief towns, the head of these being the general governor or head of the prefects. The official order of the eponymes sometimes varied; but the general succession of the titles will be shown by the following table of the titles of four lines of eponymes; the first, in the reign of Vul-nirari III, B.C. 810 to 782; the second, from B.C. 781 to 754; the third, from B.C. 743 to 724; and the fourth, from B.C. 719 to 697.

B.C. 810-782	781-754	743-724	719-697
king	king	king	king
tartan	tartan	tartan	. . . .
chief of palace	rab-bitur	chief of palace	
rab-bitur	chief of palace	rab-bitur	
tukulu	tukulu	tukulu	tukulu-rabu
governor	governor	governor	g. Assur

B.C. 810-782.	781-754.	743-724.	719-697.
Rezeph	Rezeph	Rezeph	
Arbaha	Nisibin	Nisibin	Nisibin
Ahi-zuhina	Sallat	Arbaha	Arbaha
Nisibin	Calah	Calah	Calah
	(king)		
	(tartan)		
Amidi	Arbaha	Mazamua	Lullumu
the rabshakeh	Mazamua	Sihime	Sihime
Calah	Ahi-zuhina	Ahi-zuhina	Ahizuhina
Kirruri	Bele	Bele	Bele
Sallat	Kirruri	Kirruri	Kirruri
Tushan	Tushan	Tushan	Tushan
Gozan	Gozan	Gozan	Gozan
Bele	Amida	Amida	Amida
Siphinis	Nineveh	Nineveh	Nineveh
Isana	Kalzi	Kalzi	Kalzi
Nineveh	Arbela		Arbela
Kalzi	Isana		Isana
Arbela	Kurban		Kurban
Sibaniba	Dihnun		. . . .
Rimusi	Siphinis		Dihnun
. . . . .	Rimusi		
Kurban			
Mazamua			
. . . ina			

So far as the earlier titles are concerned this order was in use at least as early as the eleventh century

B.C. and probably much earlier. In the cylinder of Tiglath Pileser I., B.C. 1120, the eponym date is in the time of the rab-bitur who is generally fourth in the list. The cylinder belongs to the fifth year of the monarch, and as the royal eponymy was usually the second year this will agree exactly with the list of titles given above, it will stand thus:

year 1
„ 2 king
„ 3 tartan
„ 4 chief of palace
„ 5 rab-bitur

There were altogether about thirty functionaries, officers and governors who held the right of being eponymes; and it is probable that when all had served their terms, the king took a second eponymy and re-started the series.

After the accession of Sargon, B.C. 722, irregularities were gradually introduced into the office, and his son Sennacherib did not take his place as eponym at the commencement of his reign, but delayed his eponymy until his eighteenth year. From this time the old order of the eponymes ceased, and the office was only held by governors, generals, and court officials; no later monarch taking any part in it.

CHAPTER III.

The Assyrian Eponym Canon.

ONE of the most important historical documents ever discovered was found by Sir Henry Rawlinson, among the inscribed terra cotta tablets, which Mr. Layard, and other explorers, brought over from Nineveh.

Sir Henry Rawlinson described his discovery in the Athenæum No. 1805, May 30, 1862, and No. 1812, July 19, 1862.

After the discovery of the canon numerous theories were started with respect to it which have not stood the test of time, these need not be repeated here, as they have no influence on the present views of the documents.

Sir Henry Rawlinson distinguished four copies of the Assyrian canon, all imperfect, which he numbered I., II., III., IV.; but since his discovery of these

several new fragments have been found belonging to canon I., and to three further copies, canons V., VI., VII.

All these documents, so far as they are preserved, closely agree. They consist of lists of the annual eponymes in their chronological order, and to those names, in canons V., VI., VII., there are added the titles of the eponymes, and short notices of the principal events, during their terms of office.

The four canons first distinguished by Sir Henry Rawlinson, are all in the same form, and differ only in certain glosses and divisonal lines.

Canon I., which is the principal and standard copy, commenced at the eponymy of Vul-nirari II., B.C. 911, and ended about B.C. 650, in the reign of Assurbanipal.

Canon II., commenced at the same date, but ended in the reign of Sennacherib.

Canon III., commenced with the eponymy of Vul-nirari III., B.C. 810, and ended about B.C. 647.

Canon IV., commenced with the eponymy of Assur-nirari, B.C. 753, and probably ended later than canon III.

The following table gives a comparative view of these canons; the date B.C. of the eponymes is inserted to show their chronological position:

TABULAR VIEW OF THE FRAGMENTS OF THE ASSYRIAN COPIES OF THE EPONYM CANON.

DATES OF EPONYMES. B.C.	CANON I.	CANON II.	CANON III.	CANON IV.
911	. . . . .	. . . . .		
910	. . . . .	. . . . .		
909	. . . pa	. . . . .		
908	. . . mur	. . . . .		
907	. . . mu	. . . . .		
906	. . . idin	. . . . .		
905	. . . gil	. . . . .		
904	Muha . . . ma	. . . . .		
903	Assur-dain . . .	. . . . .		
902	Assur-dini . . .	. . . . .		
901	Mas	. . . . .		
900	Abu-iliya	. . . . .	Absent.	Absent.
899	Assur-taggil	. . . . .		
898	Assur . . .	. . . . .		
897	. . . . .	. . . . .		
896	. . . . .	. . . . .		
895	. . . . .	. . . . .		
894	. . . . .	. . . . .		
893	. . . . .	. . sar . . .		
892	. . . . .	Ninip-zir-ipus		
891	. . . . .	Dabu-kar . . ya		
890	. . . . .	Assur-lakin-ili		
889	. . . . .	Tugulti-ninip the king		

TABLE OF THE EPONYM CANON, *Continued.*

DATES OF EPONYMES, B.C.	CANON I.	CANON II.	CANON III.	CANON IV.
888	. . . . .	Taggil-ana-beli-ya		
887	. . . . .	Abu-ili-ya		
886	. . . . .	Ilu-milki		
885	. . . . .	Yari		
884	. . . . .	Assur-sezib-ani		
883	. . . the king	Assur-nazir-pal the king		
882	. . . idin	Assur-idin		
881	. . . ku	Simutti-aku		
880	. . . damga	. . anma-damga		
879	. . . nazir	Dagan-bel-nazir		
878	Ninip-piya-uzur	Ninip-piya-uzur	Absent.	Absent.
877	Ninip-bel-uzur	Ninip-bel-uzur		
876	Sangu-assur-lilbur	. . . lilbur		
875	Samas-ubla	. . . upahar		
874	Nibat-bel-kumua	. . . bel-kumua		
873	Qurdi-assur	. . . assur		
872	Assur-liha	. . . liha		
871	Assur-natgil	. . . gil		
870	Bel-sum-damiq	. . . iq		
869	Dayan-ninip	. . . . .		
868	Istar-iddan	. . . . .		
867	Samas-nuri	. . . . .		

TABLE OF THE EPONYM CANON, *Continued.*

DATES OF EPONYMES, B.C.	CANON I.	CANON II.	CANON III.	CANON IV.
866	Mannu-daan-ana-ili	. . . . .		
865	Samas-bel-uzur	. . . . .		
864	Ninip-ilai	. . . . .		
863	Ninip-edir-anni	. . . . .		
862	Assur-ilai	. . . . .		
861	Nibat-izka-dain	. . . . .		
860	Dabu-bel	. . . . .		
859	Sar-mahir-nisi	. . . . .		
858	Saliman-usur the king	. . . . .		
857	Assur-bel-kani	. . . . .		
856	Assur-banai-uzur	. . . . .	Absent.	Absent.
855	Abu-ina-ekal-lilbur	. . . . .		
854	Dayan-assur	. . . . .		
853	Samas-abua	. . . . .		
852	Samas . . . uzur	Samas . .		
851	Bel . . . ai	Bel-ban . .		
850	Hade-libusu	Hade-libu		
849	Nibat-alik-pani	Nibat-alik-pani		
848	. . . mana	Esdu-raman		
847	. . . . .	Ninip-mukin-nisi		
846	. . . . .	Ninip-nadin-sum		
845	. . . . .	Assur-banai		

TABLE OF THE EPONYM CANON, *Continued.*

DATES OF EPONYMES B.C.	CANON I.	CANON II.	CANON III.	CANON IV.
844	. . . . .	Dabu-ninip		
843	. . . sari	Taggil-ana-sari		
842	. . . ni	Vul-utul-ani		
841	. . . a	Bel-abua		
840	. . . mur	Salmu-bel-lamur		
839	. . . . .	Ninip-kipsi-uzur		
838	. . . . .	Ninip-ilai		
837	. . . . .	Qurdi-assur		
836	. . . . .	Niri-sar		
835	. . . . .	Nibat-sum-damiq		
834	. . . . .	Yahalu	Absent.	Absent.
833	. . . . .	Ulul-ai		
832	Sar . .	Sarpati-bel		
831	Nergal-ilai	Nergal . .		
830	Hubai	Hu . . .		
829	Ilu-kin-uzur	. . . . .		
828	Saliman-uzur the king	. . . . .		
827	Dayan-assur	. . . . .		
826	Assur-banai-uzur	. . . . .		
825	Yaha . .	. . . . .		
824	Bel-ban . .	. . . . .		
823	Sam . . .	. . . . .		
822	Yahalu	. . . . .		

TABLE OF THE EPONYM CANON, *Continued.*

DATES OF EPONYMES, B.C.	CANON I.	CANON II.	CANON III.	CANON IV.
821	Bel-daan	. . . . .	Absent.	Absent.
820	Ninip-ubla	. . . . .		
819	Samas-ilai	. . . . .		
818	Nibat-ilai	. . . . .		
817	Assur-banai-uzur	. . . . .		
816	Sarpati-bel	. . . . .		
815	Bel-balad	. . . . .		
814	Musiq-sar	. . . . .		
813	Ninip-uzur	. . . . .		
812	Samas-kumua	. . . . .		
811	Bel-qat-zabat	. . . . .	"	
810	Vul-nirari the king	. . . . .	. . . . .	
809	Nibat-ilai	. . . . .	. . . . .	
808	. . .-daan	. . . . .	. . . . .	
807	. . .-bel	. . . . .	. . . . .	
806	Assur-taggil	Assur . . .	. . . . .	
805	Ilu . . ya	Ilu . . .	. . . . .	
804	Si . . .	Sidu . . .	. . . . .	
803	Assur-mahir . .	Assur-mahir . .	. . . . .	
802	Ninip-il . .	Ninip-il . .	. . . . .	
801	Niri . . .	Niri . . .	. . . . .	
800	Maruduk-tar . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
799	Mutaggil . .	Mu . .	. . . . .	
798	Bel-tarzi-anva	. . . . .	. . . . .	

TABLE OF THE EPONYM CANON, *Continued.*

DATES OF EPONYMES, B.C.	CANON I.	CANON II.	CANON III.	CANON IV.
797	Assur-bel . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
796	Maruduk-sadu.	. . . . .	. . . . .	
795	Kin-abu . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
794	Mannu-ki-assur	. . . . .	. . . . .	
793	Musalim-ninip	. . . . .	. . . . .	
792	Bel-basani	. . . . .	Bel-basani	
791	Niri-samas	. . . . .	Niri-samas	
790	. . kin-uzur	. . . . .	Ninip-kin-uzur	
789	. . . . .	. . . . .	Vul-musammir	
788	. . . . .	. . . . .	Zilli-istar	
787	. . . . .	. . . . .	Baladu	
786	. . . . .	. . . . .	Vul-uballad	
785	. . uzur	. . . . .	Maruduk-sur-uzur	Absent.
784	. . uzur	. . . . .	Nabu-sar-uzur	
783	. . nazir	. . . . .	Ninip-nazir	
782	. . va-liha	. . . . .	Anva-liha	
781	Salimanu-uzur the king"	Sa . .	Salimanu-uzur the king	
780	Samsi-il	Sam . . .	Samsi-il	
779	Maruduk-utul-ani	Maruduk . .	Maruduk-utul-ani	
778	. . . esir	Bel . . .	Bel-esir	
777	. . esdu-ukin	Nabu-esdu	Nabu-esdu-ukin	
776	. . lamur	Pan-assur . .	. . assur-lamur	
775	. . du-eris	Si . . .	. . du . .	

TABLE OF THE EPONYM CANON, *Continued.*

DATES OF EPONYMES, B.C.	CANON I.	CANON II.	CANON III.	CANON IV.
774	Istar-duri	Islar . .	. . . . .	
773	Mannu-ki-vul	. . . . .	. . . . .	
772	Assur-bel-uzur	. . . . .	. . . . .	
771	Assur-daan the king	. . . . .	. . . . .	
770	Samsi-il	. . . . .	. . . . .	
769	Bel-ilai	. . . . .	. . . . .	
768	Pali-ya	. . . . .	. . . . .	
767	Qurdi-assur	. . . . .	. . . . .	
766	Musalim-ninip	. . . . .	. . . . .	
765	Ninip-mukin-nisi	. . . . .	. . . . .	
764	Zidqi-il	. . . . .	. . . . .	
763	Esdu-sa-rabe	. . . . .	. . . . .	
762	Dabu-bel	. . . . .	. . . . .	
761	Nabu-kin-uzur	. . . . .	. . . . .	
760	Laqipu	. . . . .	. . . . .	
759	Pan-assur-lamur	. . . . .	. . . . .	
758	Bel-taggil	. . . . .	. . . . .	
757	Ninip-idin	. . . . .	. . . . .	
756	Bel-sadua	. . . . .	. . . . .	
755	Qi-su	. . . . .	. . . . .	
754	Ninip-sezib-ani	. . . . .	. . . . .	
753	Assur-nirari the king	. . . . .	Assur-nirari . .	. . nirari king of Assyria
752	Samsi-il	. . . . .	Samsi-il	Samsi-il

TABLE OF THE EPONYM CANON, *Continued.*

DATES OF EPONYMES, B.C.	CANON I.	CANON II.	CANON III.	CANON IV.
751	Maruduk-salim anni	. . . . .	Maruduk-salim-a . .	Maruduk-salim-anni
750	Bel-daan	. . . . .	Bel-daan	. . daan
749	Samas-mukin-duruk	. . . . .	Samas-mukin-duruk	Samas-mukin-duruk
748	Vul-bel-ukin	Vul-bel-uzur	Vul-bel-uzur	Assur-bel-uzur
747	Sin-salim-anni	Sin-salim-a . .	Sin-salim-ani	Sin-salim-anni
746	Nergal-nazir	Nergal-nazir	Nergal-nazir	Nergal-nazir
745	Nabu-bel-uzur	Nabu-bel-uzur	Nabu-bel-uzur	. . bel-uzur
				. . ———
				. . of Assyria
744	Bel-daan	Bel-daan	Bel-daan	. . . . .
743	Tugulti-pal-esar	Tugulti-pal-esar the king	. . . . .	. . . . .
742	Nabu-dain-anni	Nabu-dain-anni	. . . . .	. . . . .
741	Bel-harran-bel-uzur	Bel-harran-bel-uzur	. . . . .	. . . . .
740	Nabu-edir-anni	Nabu-edir-ani	. . . . .	. . . . .
739	Sin-taggil	Sin-taggil	. . . . .	. . . . .
738	Vul-bel-ukin	Vul-ukin	. . . . .	. . . . .
737	Bel-emur-anni	. . emur-ani	. . . . .	. . . . .
736	Ninip-ilai	. . ilai	. . . . .	. . . . .
735	Assur-salim-anni	Assur-salim-anni	. . . . .	. . . . .
734	Bel-daan	Bel-daan	. . . . .	. . . . .
733	Assur-dain-anni	Assur-dain-ani	. . . . .	. . . . .

TABLE OF THE EPONYM CANON, *Continued.*

DATES OF EPONYMES, B.C.	CANON I.	CANON II.	CANON III.	CANON IV.
732	Nabu-bel-uzur	Nabu-bel-uzur	. . . . .	. . . . .
731	Nergal-uballid	Nergal-uballid	. . . . .	. . . . .
730	Bel-ludari	Bel-ludari	. . . . .	. . . . .
729	Naphar-ili	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
728	Duri-assur	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
727	Bel-harran-bel-uzur	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
726	Maruduk-bel-uzur	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
725	Tizqaru-iqbi	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
724	Assur-semu-ani	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
723	Salimanu-uzur	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
722	Ninip-ilai	. . . . .	Ninip . . .	. . . . .
721	Nabu-tariz	. . . . .	Nabu . . .	. . . . .
720	Assur-izka-dain	. . . . .	Assur-izka . .	. . . . .
719	Sar-gina	. . . . .	Sar-gina the king	. . . . .
718	Zira-ibni	. . . . .	Zira-ibni.	Zira-ibni
717	Dabu-sar-assur	. . . . .	Dabu . .	Dabu-sar-assur
716	Dabu-zilli-esar	. . . . .	Dabu-zilli-e . .	Dabu-zilli-esar
715	Taggil-ana-bel	. . . . .	Taggil-a . . .	Taggil-ana-bel
714	Istar-duri	. . . . .	Istar . . .	Istar-duri
713	Assur-bani	. . . . .	. . . . .	Assur-bani
712	Saru-emur-anni	. . . . .	. . . . .	Saru-emur-anni
711	Ninip-alik-pani	. . . . .	. . . . .	Ninip-alik-pani

TABLE OF THE EPONYM CANON, *Continued.*

DATES OF EPONYMES, B.C.	CANON I.	CANON II.	CANON III.	CANON IV.
710	Samas-bel-uzur	. . . -bel-uzur	. . . . .	Samas-bel-uzur
709	Mannu-ki-assur-liha	. . . -ki-assur-liha	. . . . .	Mannu-ki-assur-liha
708	Samas-upahhir	. . . -upahar	. . . . .	Samas-upahar
707	Sa-assur-gubbu	. . -assur-gubbu	. . . . .	Sa-assur-gubbu
706	Mutaggil-assur	. . taggil-assur	. . . . .	Mutaggil-assur
		. . ahi-iriba the king		
705	Pahara-bel	Pahara-bel	. . . .	Pahar-bel,
				. . ahi-iriba king of Assyria
704	Nabu-deni-ipus	Nabu-deni-ipus	. . . . .	. . deni . . .
703	Kannunai	Kannunai	. . . . .	. . nun . . .
702	Nabu-liha	Nabu-liha	. . . . .	Nabu . . . .
701	. . . na . . .	Hananu	. . . . .	. . . . .
700	. . . tu . . .	Mi	. . . . .	. . . . .
699	. . . sar . . .	Bel	. . . . .	. . . . .
698	. . . mu-sari	Sul	. . . . .	Canon IV. originally contained about 60 later names all of which are lost.
697	. . . dur-uzur	Nabu	. . . . .	
696	. . . . . bel	Dabu (?) . . .	. . . . .	
695	. . . bel-uzur	Nabu	. . . . .	
694	. . . ki-ya	. . . . .	. . . . .	
693	Nadni-ahi	. . . . .	. . . . .	
692	Zazai	. . . . .	. . . . .	

TABLE OF THE EPONYM CANON, *Continued.*

DATES OF EPONYMES, B.C.	CANON I.	CANON II.	CANON III.	CANON IV.
691	Bel-emur-ani	. . . . .	. . . . .	
		End of Canon doubtful		
690	Nabu-kin-uzur		. . . . .	
689	Gihilu		. . . . .	
688	Nadni-ahi		Nadni . . .	
687	Sin-ahi-iriba		Assur-ahi . .	
686	. . -emur-anni		Bel-emur-ani	
685	. . -dain-anni		Assur-dain-ani	
684	. . . -zir-ile		Man-zir-ile	
683	. . . -ki-vul		Mannu-ki-vul	
682	. . . -sar-uzur		Nabu-sar-uzur	
681	. . . -ahi-eris	Absent.	Nabu-ahi-eris	
	. . . idina the throne ascended			
680	Dananu		Dananu	
679	Ta-vul-aninu		Da-vul-ninu.	
678	Nergal-sar-uzur		Nabu-nergal-sar-uzur	
677	Abramu		Abramu	
676	Bamba		Bamba	
675	Nabu-ahi-idina		. . . . .	
674	Saru-nuri		. . . . .	
673	Atar-ili		. . . .	

TABLE OF THE EPONYM CANON, *Continued.*

DATES OF EPONYMES, B.C.	CANON I.	CANON II.	CANON III.	CANON IV.
672	Nabu-bel-uzur		. . . . .	
671	Debit-ai		. . . . .	
670	Salimu-bel-lasmi		. . . . .	
669	Samas-kasid-aibi		. . . . .	
668	Mar-larmi		. . . . .	
667	. . . abbaru		. . . . .	
666	. . . . ai		. . . . .	
665	. . . . .		. . . . .	
664	. . . . .		. . . . .	
663	Bel . . .		. . . . .	
662	Dabu-sar . .	Absent.	. . . . .	
661	Arba . . .		. . . . .	
660	Kirza . . .		. . . . .	
659	Silim . . .		. . . . .	
	End of Canon I			
658			. . . . .	
657			. . . . .	
656			Sa-nabu-su	
655			Labasi	
654			Milki-ramu	
653			Avyanu	
652			Assur-nazir	
651			Assur-ilai	
650			Assur-dur-uzur	

TABLE OF THE EPONYM CANON, *Continued.*

DATES OF EPONYMES, B.C.	CANON I.	CANON II.	CANON III.	CANON IV.
649			Sagabbu	
648			Bel-harran-sadua	
647			Ahi-ilai	
			End of Canon III.	

TABULAR VIEW OF ASSYRIAN CANONS WITH HISTORICAL NOTICES ATTACHED.

Canon V.

About 30 lines lost.

829. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
828. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
827. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
826. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
825. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
824. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
823. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
822. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
821. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
820. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
819. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
818. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
817. . .	. . .	. . .	expedition to Bele
816. . .	. . .	. . zibina	expedition to Zarati
815. . .	. . .	. . nu expedition to Deri	the great god to Deri went
814. . .	. . .	. . ruri	expedition to Ahsana
813. . .	. . .	. . Sallat	expedition to Kaldi
812. . .	. . .	. . Arbaḫa	expedition to Babili
811. . .	. . .	. . Mazamua	in the country
810. . .	. . .	. . Assur	expedition to Matai
809. . .	. . .	. . tanu	expedition to Guzana
808. . .	. . .	. . palace	expedition to Mannai
807. . .	. . .	. . . bitur	expedition to Mannai

Fragments of Canons VI. and VII.

About 30 lines lost.

Canon VII.

829	. . kin . . .
828	. . Salmanu . . .
827	. . Dayan . . .
826	. . Assur-banai . . .
825	. . Yaha . . .
824	. . Bel-banai . . .
823	. . Samsi-vul . . .
822	. . . . lu .
821	. . . .

Canon VI.

820 . .	. . . .
819 . .	. . the . . .
818 . .	. . ai governor of . . .
817 . .	. . uzur the chief of . . .
816 . .	. . bel governor of . . .
815 . .	. . the tur . . .
814 . .	. . governor . . .
813 . .	. . . .
812 . .	. . . .
811 . .	. . . .
810 Eponym	. . . . .
809 Eponym	. . . .
808 Eponym	Bel-daan . . .
807 Eponym	Zilli-bel . . .

TABULAR VIEW OF ASSYRIAN CANONS, *Continued.*

806. . .	. . .	. . tukulu	expedition to Arpadda
805. . .	. . .	. . governor	expedition to Hazazi
804. . .	. . .	. . zappa	expedition to Bahili
803. . .	. . .	. . Arbaha	expedition to over the sea, pestilence
802. . .	. . .	. . hi-zuhina	expedition to Hupuskia
801. . .	. . .	. . zibina	expedition to Matai
800. . .	. . .	. . Amidi	expedition to Matai
799. . .	. . .	. . saki	expedition to Lulima
798. . .	. . .	. . kalhi	expedition to Zimri
797. . .	. . .	. . kirruri	expedition to Manzuat
796. . .	. . .	. . sallat	expedition to Deri
795. . .	. . .	. . Tushan	expedition to Deri
794. . .	. . .	. . Guzana	expedition to Matai
793. . .	. . .	. . Bele	expedition to Matai
792. . .	. . .	. . hinis	expedition to Hupuskia
791. . .	. . .	. . sana	expedition to Ituha
790. . .	. . .	. . nua	expedition to Matai
789. . .	. . .	. . zi	expedition to Matai
788. . .	. . .	. . .	the festival(?) cycle(?)
787. . .	. . .	. . expedition to Matai	the god Nabu entered into the new temple
786. . .	. . .	. . musi	expedition to Kiski
785. . .	. . .	expedition to Hupuskia	the great god to Deri went
784. . .	. . .	. . an	expedition to Hupuskia
783. . .	. . .	. . mua	expedition to Ituha

TABULAR VIEW OF ASSYRIAN CANONS, *Continued.*

806	Eponym	Assur-taggil the tukulu . . .
805	Eponym	Ilu-ki-ya . . .
804	Eponym	Sidu-eris . . .
803	. .	. . . .
802	. .	. . . .
801	. .	. . . .
800	. .	. . .
799	. .	. . . .
798	. .	. . .
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TABULAR VIEW OF ASSYRIAN CANONS, *Continued.*

782 ditto	. . .	. . ina	expedition to Ituha
781 In the Eponymy	Sal . .	. . Assur	expedition to Urardi
780 ditto	Sam . .	. . tanu	expedition to Urardi
779 ditto	. . .	. . bitur	expedition to Urardi
778 ditto	. . .	. . palace	expedition to Urardi
777 ditto	Nabu . .	. . tukulu	expedition to Ituha
776 ditto	Pad-assur	. . governor	expedition to Urardi
775 ditto	Sidu . .	. . kazappa	expedition to Erini
774 ditto	Istar . .	. . bina	expeditions to Urardi and Zimri
773 ditto	Mannu-ki .	. . sallat	expedition to Dimasqa
772 ditto	Assur-bel .	. . hi	expedition to Hatarika
771. . .	. . .	. . . .	expedition to Gananati
770. . .	. . .	. . tanu	expedition to Surat
769. . .	Bel-ilai. .	governor of Arbaha	expedition to Ituha
768 ditto	Pali-ya	governor . . zamua	in the country
767 ditto	Qurdi-assur	governor . . Zuhina	expedition to Gannanati
766 ditto	Musallim-ninip	governor of Bele	expedition to Matai
765 ditto	Ninip-mukin-nisi	governor of Kirruri	expedition to Hatarika, pestilence
764 ditto	Zidqi-il	governor of Tushan	in the country
763 ditto	of Esdu-sarabe	governor of Guzana revolt in city of Assur	in month Sivan sun was eclipsed

TABULAR VIEW OF ASSYRIAN CANONS, *Continued.*

782			
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774			
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CANON VII.

768	. .	. . .	. . . .
767	. .	. . .	. . . . . nanati
766	. .	. . .	. . . . . Matai
765	. .	. . .	expedition to Hatarika, pestilence
764	. .	. . .	in the country
763	. .	. . Assur	in month Sivan sun was eclipsed

TABULAR VIEW OF ASSYRIAN CANONS, *Continued.*

In the 762 Eponymy	Dabu-bel	governor of Amidi	revolt in the city of Assur
761 ditto	Nabu-kin-uzur-	governor of Ninua	revolt in city of Arbaha
760 ditto	Laqipu	governor of Kalzi	revolt in city of Arbaha
759 ditto	Pan-assur	. . Arbail	revolt in city of Guzana, pestilence
758. . .	. . .	. . Isana	expedition to Guzana, peace in the country
757. . .	. . .	. . Kurban	in the country
756. . .	. . .	. . Dihnunna	in the country
755. . .	. . .	. . Siphinis	expedition to Hatarika
754. . .	. . .	. . Rimusi	expedition to Arpadda
			from the city of Assur the return
753. . .	. . .	. . Assur	in the country
752. . .	. . .	. . tanu	in the country
751. . .	. . .	. . palace	in the country
750. . .	. . .	the rab-bitur	in the country
749. . .	. . .	the tukulu	expedition to Zimri
748. . .	. . .	the governor	expedition to Zimri
747. . .	. . .	. . Razappa	in the country
746. . .	. . .	. . Nazibina	revolt in the city of Kalhi
745. . .	. . .	. . Arbaha	in the month Iyyar 13th day
		Tugulti-pal-esar	the throne ascended

TABULAR VIEW OF ASSYRIAN CANONS, *Continued.*

762	. . . . di	revolt in city of Assur
761	. . . . a	revolt in city of Arbaha
760	. . . . zi	revolt in city of Arbaha
759	 il	revolt in city of Guzana, pestilence
758	. . . . na	expedition to Guzana, peace in the country
757	. . . . an	in the country
756	. . . . na	in the country
755	. . . . is	expedition to Hatarika
754	. . . . si	expedition to Arpadda, from the city of Assur the return
753	. . Assur	in the country
752	. . . nu	in the country
751	. . . palace	in the country
750	. . . tur	in the country
749	. . . tukulu	expedition to Zimri
748	. . governor	expedition . . . .
747		
746		
745		

TABULAR VIEW OF ASSYRIAN CANONS, *Continued.*

745. . .	. . .	. . Tisri to the	vicinity of the river he marched
744. . .	. . .	. . Kalhi	expedition to Zimri
743. . .	. . .	king of Assur	in the city of Arpadda
		the overthrow of	Urardi he accomplished
742. . .	. . .	the turtanu	expedition to Arpadda
741. . .	. . .	chief of the palace	expedition to the same city, three years war
740. . .	. . .	the rab-bitur	expedition to Arpadda
739. . .	. . .	the tukulu expedition to Ulluba	city of Birtu built
738. . .	. . .	the governor	city of Kullani captured
737. . .	. . .	governor of Razappa	expedition to Matai
736. . .	. . .	governor of Nazibina	expedition to the foot of mount Naal
735. . .	. . .	governor of Arbaha	expedition to Urardi
734. . .	. . .	governor of Kalhi	expedition to Pilista
733. . .	. . .	governor of Mazamua	expedition to Dimasqa
732. . .	. . .	governor of Sihime	expedition to Dimasqa
731. . .	. . .	governor of Ahisuhina	expedition to Sapiya
730. . .	. . .	governor of Bile	in the country
729. . .	. . .	governor of Kirruri	the king took the hands of Bel
728. . .	. . .	governor of Tushan	. . .

TABULAR VIEW OF ASSYRIAN CANONS, *Continued.*

745		
744		
743		
742		
741		
740		
739		
738		
737		
736		
735		
734		
733	CANON VII.	
732 . . .	. . . e	
731 . . .	. . zuhina	expedition to . . . .
730 . . .	. . . e	in the . . .
729 . . .	. . . ri	the king . . the hand . .
728 . . .	. . . han	the king took the hand of Bel, the city Di . . . .

TABULAR VIEW OF ASSYRIAN CANONS, *Continued.*

727. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
726. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
725. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
724. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
723. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
722 to 709	lost.		
708. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
707. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
706. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
705. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
704. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
703. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
702. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

TABULAR VIEW OF ASSYRIAN CANONS, *Continued.*

727 . . .	. . . . zan	expedition to city . . . .
	. . neser	in the throne . . .
726 . . .	. . . di	in the . . .
725 . . .	. . Nineveh	expedition to . . .
724 . . .	. . . zi	expedition to . . .
723 . . .	. . .	expedition . . .

CANON VI.

722 to 709	lost.
708 Eponym	Samas . . .
	chiefs to the land of Kummuha . . .
707 Eponym	Sa-assur-gubbu governor of Tushan . . .
	great Suhra trees and . . .
	in the month Tisri 22nd day the gods of the city of Dur-sargina . . .
706 Eponym	Mutaggil-assur governor of Guzana, the king . . .
	in the month Iyyar 6th day in the city of Dur-sargina . . .
705 Eponym	Pahar-bel governor of Amida . . . .
	over the *espai* of the Kullumites . . .
	the king slew, and the camp of the king of Assyria . . .
	in the month Ab 12th day Sin-ahi-iriba . . .
704 Eponym	Nabu-deni-ipus governor of Nineveh . . .
	cities of Larak, Sarapanu . . .
	the palace of the city of Halzi he built . . .
	chiefs against . . .
703 . . .	. . . . .
702 . . .	. . . . .

TABULAR VIEW OF ASSYRIAN CANONS, *Continued.*

701. . .	. . .	. . .	. . . . .
700. . .	. . .	. . .	. . . . .
699. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

End of Canons V., VI., and VII. uncertain.

TABULAR VIEW OF ASSYRIAN CANONS, *Continued.*

701 . .	. . . . .
	from the land of Halzihi . . .
700 Eponym	Mitunu governor of . . .
	Assur-nadin-sum son of . . .
	. . . of the palace in the midst of the city . . .
	great beams of cedar . . .
	great stone obelisks in the midst . . .
	in the midst of the city of Sedargiza . . .
	. . to . . .
	of the kings of the city . . .
699 . .	. . . . .

NOTICE ON TABLET

CONTAINING THREE SUCCESSIVE EPONYMES.

---

13 horses for riding all . . .

in the eponymy of Bel-nahid

2 horses in the month Tisri

in the eponymy of Dabu-sar-sin

2 horses in the month Nisan

6 horses in the month Tisri

making 8 horses in the eponymy of Arba-ilai

making 23 horses for riding

(dated) Month Tisri 25th day eponymy of Arba-ilai

the priest the second man.

LIST OF ASSYRIAN EPONYMES,

With the dates and events drawn up from the seven copies of the canon, and other sources.

DATE.	EPONYM.	TITLE.	REMARKS.
1330	Salmanu-urris	. . .	*Reign of Vul-nirari I. fourteenth century* B.C.
1310	Musipsi	. . .	*Reign of Shalmaneser I.*
1120	Ina-iliya-allik	rab-bitur .	*Reign of Tiglath-Pileser I.*
	Assur-ram-nisi-su	king (?) . .	From broken obelisk
	Ilu-idin	king (?) . .	From broken obelisk
	Assur-nazir	. . .	From obelisk
911	*Vul-nirari*	*king*	
910			
909	. . . pa		
908	. . . mur		
907	. . . mu		
906	. . . idin		
905	. . . gil		
904	Muha . . ma		
903	Assur-dain		
902	Assur-dini		
901	Mas . . .		
900	Abu-iliya		
899	Assur-taggil		
898	Assur . . .		
897			

LIST OF ASSYRIAN EPONYMES, *Continued.*

DATE.	EPONYM.	TITLE.	REMARKS.
896			
895			
894			
893	. . . sar . . .		
892	Ninip-zir-ipus		
891	Dabu-kar . . ya		
890	Assur-lakin-ili		
889	Tugulti-ninip	king of Assyria	
888	Taggil-ana-beli-ya		
887	Abu-ili-ya		
886	Ilu-milki		
885	Yari		*accession of Assur-nazir-pal*
884	Assur-sezib-ani		
883	Assur-nazir-pal	king of Assyria	
882	Assur-idin		
881	Simutti-aku		
880	Sa-anva-damga		
879	Dagan-bel-na-zir		
878	Ninip-piya-uzur		
877	Ninip-bel-uzur		
876	Sangu-assur-lil-bur		
875	Samas-ubla		
874	Nibat-bel-ku-mua		
873	Qurdi-assur		

LIST OF ASSYRIAN EPONYMES, *Continued.*

DATE.	EPONYM.	TITLE.	REMARKS.
872	Assur-liha		
871	Assur-natgil		
870	Bel-sum-damiq		
869	Dayan-ninip		
868	Istar-iddan		
867	Samas-nuri		
866	Mannu-daan-ana-ili		
865	Samas-bel-uzur		
874	Ninip-ilai		
863	Ninip-edir-anni		
862	Assur-ilai		
861	Nibat-izka-dain		
860	Dabu-bel	. . .	*accession of Shalmaneser II.*
859	Sar-mahir-nisi		
858	Saliman-uzur	king of Assyria	
857	Assur-bel-kani		
856	Assur-banai-uzur	*chief of palace*	
855	Abu-ina-ekal-lilbur		
854	Dayan-assur		*expedition to Syria*
853	Samas-abua		
852	Samas-bel-uzur		
851	Bel-banai		
850	Hade-libusu		*expedition to Syria*
849	Nibat-alik-pani		*expedition to Syria*
848	Esdu-raman		

LIST OF ASSYRIAN EPONYMES, *Continued.*

DATE.	EPONYM.	TITLE.	REMARKS.
847	Ninip-mukin-nisi		
846	Ninip-nadin-sum	. . .	*expedition to Syria*
845	Assur-banai		
844	Dabu-ninip		
843	Taggil-ana-sari		
842	Vul-utul-ani	. . .	*expedition to Syria*
841	Bel-abua		
840	Salmu-bel-la-mur		
839	Ninip-kipsi-uzur	. . .	*expedition to Syria*
838	Ninip-ilai		
837	Qurdi-assur		
836	Niri-sar		
835	Nibat-sum-da-miq		
834	Yahalu		
833	Ulul-ai		
832	Sarpati-bel		
831	Nergal-ilai		
830	Hubai		
829	Ilu-kin-uzur		
828	Saliman-uzur	king of Assyria	
827	Dayan-assur	the tartan	
826	Assur-banai-uzur		
825	Yahalu	. . .	*accession of Samsi-vul (?)*

LIST OF ASSYRIAN EPONYMES, *Continued.*

DATE.	EPONYM.	TITLE.	REMARKS.
824	Bel-banai		
823	Samsi-vul	king of Assyria	
822	Yahalu		
821	Bel-daan		
820	Ninip-ubla		
819	Samas-ilai	the governor (?)	
818	Nibat-ilai	governor of Rezeph (?)	
817	Assur-banai-uzur	chief of the palace	expedition to Bele
816	Sarpati-bel	governor of Nisibin	expedition to Zarati
815	Bel-balad	the tartan	expedition to Deri, the great god to Deri went
814	Musiq-sar	governor of Kirruri	expedition to Ahsana
813	Ninip-uzur	governor of Sallat	expedition to Chaldea
812	Samas-kumua	governor of Arbaha	expedition to Babylon
811	Bel-qat-zabat	governor of Mazamua	in the country
810	Vul-nirari	king of Assyria	expedition to Media
809	Nibat-ilai	the tartan	expedition to Gozan
808	Bel-daan	chief of the palace	expedition to Minni
807	Zilli-bel	the rab-bitur	expedition to Minni
806	Assur-taggil	the tukulu	expedition to Arpad
805	Ilu-ki-ya	the governor	expedition to Hazazi
804	Sidu-eris	governor of Rezeph	expedition to Bahili
803	Assur-mahir-nisi	governor of Arbaha	expedition to over the sea, pestilence,
802	Ninip-ilai	governor of Ahi-zuhina	expedition to Hupuskia

LIST OF ASSYRIAN EPONYMES, *Continued.*

DATE.	EPONYM.	TITLE.	REMARKS.
801	Niri	governor of Nisibin	expedition to Media
800	Maruduk-tar . .	governor of Amidi	expedition to Media
799	Mutaggil . . .	the rab-saki	expedition to Lulima
798	Bel-tarzi-anva	governor of Calah	expedition to Zimri
797	Assur-bel-uzur	governor of Kirruri	expedition to Manzuat
796	Maruduk-sadua	governor of Sallat	expedition to Deri
795	Kin-abua	governor of Tushan	expedition to Deri
794	Mannu-ki-assur	governor of Gozan	expedition to Media
793	Musalim-ninip	governor of Bele	expedition to Media
792	Bel-basani	governor of Siphinis	expedition to Hupuskia
791	Niri-samas	governor of Isana	expedition to Ituha
790	Ninip-kin-uzur	governor of Nineveh	expedition to Media
789	Vul-musammir	governor of Kalzi	expedition to Media
788	Zilli-istar	governor of Arbela	the festival (?), cycle (?)
787	Baladu	governor of Siba-niba	expedition to Media, the god Nebo entered into the new temple
786	Vul-uballad	governor of Rimusi	expedition to Kiski
785	Maruduk-sar-uzur	. . .	expedition to Hupuskia, the great god to Deri went
784	Nabu-sar-uzur	governor of Kurban	expedition to Hupuskia
783	Ninip-nazir	governor of Maza-mua	expedition to Ituha
782	Anva-liha	governor of . . ina	expedition to Ituha
781	Shalmaneser	king of Assyria	expedition to Ararat
780	Samsi-il	the tartan	expedition to Ararat
779	Maruduk-utul-ani	the rab-bitur	expedition to Ararat

LIST OF ASSYRIAN EPONYMES, *Continued.*

DATE.	EPONYM.	TITLE.	REMARKS.
778	Bel-esir	chief of the palace	expedition to Ararat
777	Nabu-esdu-ukin	the tukulu	expedition to Ituha
776	Pan-assur-la-mur	the governor	expedition to Ararat
775	Sidu-eris	governor of Rezeph	expedition to Erini
774	Istar-duri	governor of Nisibin	expedition to Ararat and Zimri
773	Mannu-ki-vul	governor of Sallat	expedition to Damascus
772	Assur-bel-uzur	governor of Calah	expedition to Hadrach
771	Assur-daan	king of Assyria	expedition to Gananat
770	Samsi-il	the tartan	expedition to Surat
769	Bel-ilai	governor of Arbaha	expedition to Ituha
768	Pali-ya	governor of Mazamua	peace in the land
767	Qurdi-assur	governor of Ahizuhina	expedition to Gannanati
766	Musalim-ninip	governor of Bele	expedition to Media
765	Ninip-mukin-nisi	governor of Kirruri	expedition to Hadrach, pestilence
764	Zadkiel	governor of Tushan	peace in the land
763	Esdu-sarabe	governor of Gozan	revolt in city of Assur, in month Sivan, sun was eclipsed
762	Dabu-bel	governor of Amida	revolt in city of Assur
761	Nabu-kin-uzur	governor of Nineveh	revolt in city of Arbaha
760	Laqipu	governor of Kalzi	revolt in city of Arbaha
759	Pan-assur-la-mur	governor of Arbela	revolt in city of Gozan, pestilence

LIST OF ASSYRIAN EPONYMES, *Continued.*

DATE.	EPONYM.	TITLE.	REMARKS.
758	Bel-taggil	governor of Isana	expedition to Gozan, peace in the land
757	Ninip-idin	governor of Kurban	peace in the land
756	Belsadua	governor of Dihnun	peace in the land
755	Qisu	governor of Siphinis	expedition to Hadrach
754	Ninip-sezib-ani	governor of Rimusi	expedition to Arpad. The return from the city of Assur
753	Assur-nirari	king of Assyria	peace in the land
752	Samsi-il	the tartan	peace in the land
751	Maruduk-sa-lim-anni	chief of the palace	peace in the land
750	Bel-daan	the rab-bitur	peace in the land
749	Samas-mukin-duruk	the tukulu	expedition to Zimri
748	Vul-bel-ukin	the governor	expedition to Zimri
747	Sin-salim-anni	governor of Rezeph	peace in the land
746	Nergal-nazir	governor of Nisibin	revolt in the city of Calah
745	Nabu-bel-uzur	governor of Arbaha	in the month Iyyar 13th day Tiglath-Pileser the throne ascended.
			in the month Tisri to the vicinity of the river he marched
744	Bel-daan	governor of Calah	expedition to Zimri
743	Tiglath-Pileser	king of Assyria	in the city of Arpad the overthrow of Ararat he accomplished
742	Nabu-dain-anni	the tartan	expedition to Arpad
741	Bel-harran-bel-uzur	chief of the palace	expedition to the same city three years war

LIST OF ASSYRIAN EPONYMES, *Continued.*

DATE.	EPONYM.	TITLE.	REMARKS.
740	Nabu-edir-anni	the rab-bitur	expedition to Arpad
739	Sin-taggil	the tukulu	expedition to Ulluba, city of Birtu built
738	Vul-bel-ukin	the governor	city of Kullani (Calno) captured
737	Bel-emur-anni	governor of Rezeph	expedition to Media
736	Ninip-ilai	governor of Nisibin	expedition to the foot of mount Naal
735	Assur-sallim-anni	governor of Arbaha	expedition to Ararat
734	Bel-daan	governor of Calah	expedition to Palestine
733	Assur-dain-anni	governor of Mazamua	expedition to Damascus
732	Nabu-bel-uzur	governor of Sihime	expedition to Damascus
731	Nergal-uballid	governor of Ahi-suhina	expedition to Sapiya
730	Bel-ludari	governor of Bele	peace in the land
729	Naphar-ili	governor of Kirruri	the king took the hands of Bel
728	Duri-assur	governor of Tushan	the king took the hands of Bel, Di . . . .
727	Bel-harran-bel-uzur	governor of Gozan	expedition to . . in the month . . .
			Shalmaneser the throne ascended
726	Maruduk-bel-uzur	governor of Amida	peace in the land
725	Tizkaru-iqbi	governor of Nineveh	expedition to . . .
724	Assur-semu-ani	governor of Kalzi	expedition to . . .
723	Shalmaneser	king of Assyria	expedition to . . .

LIST OF ASSYRIAN EPONYMES, *Continued.*

DATE.	EPONYM.	TITLE.	REMARKS.
722	Ninip-ilai	. . .	*accession of Sargon, siege of Samaria*
721	Nabu-tariz	. . .	*war with Babylon and Elam*
720	Assur-izka-dain	. . .	*expedition to Palestine*
719	Sargon	king of Assyria	*expedition to Minni*
718	Zira-bani	. . .	*expedition to Sinukta*
717	Dabu-sar-assur	the great tukulu	*expedition to Carchemish*
716	Dabu-zilli-esar	governor of Assur	*expedition to Minni and Media*
715	Taggil-ana-bel	governor of Nisibin	*expeditions to Minni, Asia-Minor and Arabia*
714	Istar-duri	governor of *Arbaha*	*expedition to Media, Ararat and Muzazir*
713	Assur-bani	governor of Calah	*expedition to Media and Tubal*
712	Saru-emur-anni	governor of Lullume	*expedition to Milid*
711	Ninip-alik-pani	governor of Sihime	*expedition to Ashdod*
710	Samas-bel-uzur	governor of *Ahi-zuhina*	*conquest of Babylon*
709	Mannu-ki-as-surliha	governor of Bele	*expedition to Chaldea*
708	Samas-upahhar	governor of *Kirruri*	chiefs to the land of Kummuha *he sent*
707	Sa-assur-gubbu	governor of Tushan	. . . . . great Suhra trees and . . . in the month Tisri, 22nd day the gods of the city of Dur-sargon . . .

LIST OF ASSYRIAN EPONYMES, *Continued.*

DATE.	EPONYM.	TITLE.	REMARKS.
706	Mutaggil-assur	governor of Gozan	the king . . . in the month Iyyar 6th day in the city of Dur-sargon
705	Pahar-bel	governor of Amida	. . . . .
			over the *espai* of the Kul-lumites . . .
			the king slew, and the camp of the king of As-syria . . .
			in the month Ab, 12th day Sennacherib *the throne ascended.*
704	Nabu-deni-ipus	governor of Nineveh	*expedition to Babylon*
			cities of Larak, Sarapanu, ...
			the palace of the city of Kalzi he built . .
			chiefs against . . .
703	Kannunai	*governor of Kalzi?*	
702	Nabu-liha	governor of Arbela	*expedition to Kassi and Ellipi*
701	Hananu	governor of . . .	*expedition to Palestine* "
			from the land of Halzihi . . . . .
700	Mitunu	governor of Isana	*expedition to Babylon*
	Assur-nadin-sum	son of *Sennacherib made king of Babylon*	. . . of the palace in the midst of the city of *Nineveh he built*
			great beams of cedar . . .
			great stone obelisks in the midst *he raised* . . .
			in the midst of the city of Sedargiza . . .
			. . . to . . .
			of the king of the city . . .

LIST OF ASSYRIAN EPONYMES, *Continued.*

DATE.	EPONYM.	TITLE.	REMARKS.
699	Bei-sar-ani	governor of Kurban	*expedition to Nipur and Anara*
698	Sulmu-sari	. . .	*expedition to Nagitu* (?)
697	Nabû-dur-uzur	governor of Dihnun	*expedition to Elam* (?)
696	Dabu(?)-bel	. . .	*expedition to Babylonia* (?)
695	Nabu-bel-uzur	*kisir* of the king	*expedition to Babylonia* (?)
694	Il-ki-ya	governor of Damascus	*expedition to Palestine* (?)
693	Nadni-ahi	governor of Zimmirra	
692	Zazai	governor of Arpad	
691	Bel-emur-ani	governor of Carchemish	
690	Nabu-kin-uzur		
689	Gihilu		
688	Nadni-ahi	governor of Dur-sargon	
687	Sennacherib	king of Assyria	
686	Bel-emur-ani	the tartan	
685	Assur-dain-ani		
684	Mannu-zir-iie	governor of Kullani	
683	Mannu-ki-vul		
682	Nabu-sar-uzur	governor of Marqasi	
681	Nabu-ahi-eris	governor of Samalla	Esarhaddon ascended the throne, *expedition to Chaldea*
680	Dananu	governor of Manzuat	*expedition to Palestine*
679	Ta-vul-aninu		
678	Nergal-sar-uzur	the rab-bitur	

LIST OF ASSYRIAN EPONYMES, *Continued.*

DATE.	EPONYM.	TITLE.	REMARKS.
677	Abramu	the sukulu-rabu	
676	Bamba	the second sukulu	
675	Nabu-ahi-idina		
674	Saru-nuri		
673	Atar-ili	governor of Lahirú	
672	Nabu-bel-uzur	. . . .	expedition to Egypt
671	Debit-ai	sardinnu of the new palace	
670	Salmu-bel-lasmi	governor of Duran	
669	Samas-kasid-aibi	governor of . . .	
668	Marlarmi	tartan of Kummuha	*Esarhaddon died*
667	Gabbaru		
666	. . . ai	"	
665(?)	Mannu-ki-sar	officer of the king	
664(?)	Saru-ludari		
663	Bel-nahid	the tartan	
662	Dabu-sar-sin		
661	Arba-ilai	the priest the second man	
660	Kirzabuna		
659	Silim-assur	the sukul-dan	
658(?)			
657(?)			
656	Sa-nabu-su	the saki	
655	Labasi	the rabkar	
654	Milki-ramu		

LIST OF ASSYRIAN EPONYMES, *Continued.*

DATE.	EPONYM.	TITLE.	REMARKS.
653	Avyanu	of Babylon (?)	
652	Assur-nazir		
651	Assur-ilai	the sukul	
650	Assur-dur-uzur	. . .	*revolt of Babylon and Elam*
649	Sagabbu	. . .	*war with Babylon and Elam*
648	Bel-harran-sa-dua	. . .	*conquest of Babylon*
647	Ahi-ilai		
646(?)	Bel-sunu	governor of Hindana	
645(?)	Nabu-sar-ahi-su	governor of Samaria	
644(?)	Samas-dain-anni	governor of Babylon	
	Sin-sar-uzur	the scribe of the land	
	Sin-sar-uzur	governor of Hindana	
	Bulludu		
	Vul-utul-ani		
	Nabu-sar-uzur	scribe of the land	
	Assur-mati-iz-mad	governor of . . .	
	Musallim-assur	governor of Alihi	
	Mannu-ki-ahi	governor of Zimirra	
	Nabu-bel-idin		
	Nabu-dain-anni	governor of Que	
	Assur-dain-sar		
	Assur-utul-ani		

LIST OF ASSYRIAN EPONYMES, *Continued.*

EPONYN.	TITLE.	REMARKS.
Assur-gimil-turri	the great tukulu	
Upaqa-ana-ar-ba-il		
Nusar-iqbi	the tartan of Kum-muha	
Zamama-iriba		
Maruduk-sar-uzur	governor of Que	
Nur		
Bel-sab-anni		
Nabu-nadin-ahu		
Saru-nahid	the rabkarnadu	
Saru-nahid	the tukulu	
Nabu-saqap		
Assur-garua-niri		
Barku-utul-anni		
Daddi	the great tukulu	*reign of Bel-zakir-iskun*
Sin-alik-pani		

CHAPTER IV.

Evidence of the Chronological Accuracy of the Assyrian Eponym Canon.

IN consequence of a difficulty in reconciling the Assyrian chronology with the dates of the corresponding events, according to the Second book of Kings, some authors have suggested that the Assyrian canon is incomplete, and that there are places in the documents where numbers of years should be inserted to make the earlier dates correct.

Up to the present time, three possible breaks have been suggested in the canon; the first between the reigns of Shalmaneser II. and Samsivul; the second one year after the eponymy of Assurdaan III.; and the third at the close of the reign of Assurnirari II., and previous to the reign of Tilgath Pileser II. A reference to the copy of the canon in Chapter II. will show the position of these supposed breaks.

I have seen no reason in support of any of these gaps, from any cuneiform text with which I am acquainted; and I believe myself that the canon is a complete and accurate document; but I here give a sketch of the theories that have been propounded with respect to these supposed gaps in the canon.

The first conjectured gap is suggested by the Rev.

D. H. Haigh, who believes that nineteen years are omitted between the reigns of Shalmaneser II. and Samsivul III.

It is related, in the monolith inscription of Samsivul III., that during the reign of his father, Shalmaneser II., another son of that king, named Assurdainpal, revolted against him, and was followed by twenty-seven districts of Assyria, principally in the east and south. These districts were subdued, and again brought under the rule of Shalmaneser by Samsivul, who afterwards succeeded to the throne, instead of the rebel prince.

The Rev. D. H. Haigh supposed that this revolt lasted nineteen years. He believes that the date of the revolt is given in a passage of where it is stated that the Assyrian empire ended sixty-seven years before the Olymiads (B.C. 776-67=B.C. 843); and he assumes that a notice of Shalmaneser engaging in some ceremony in his thirty-first year, B.C. 829, belongs really to B.C. 848, and comes sixty years before the notice, in the canon B.C. 788, of a *karru*, which he translates cycle; and he suggests that the notice of the king taking the hand of Bel, in B.C. 729, and the festival of Bel on the day of Assurbanipal's accession, are other examples of this cycle of sixty years.

This is quite impossible, as the four notices referred to all belong to different subjects; the first, in the time of Shalmaneser, B.C. 829, records the restoration of something called a *buna*, probably an emblem or altar, which was placed before the gods Assur and Vul.

The second notice in the canon, B.C. 788, merely says *karru*, "return," or "turning;" this may possibly mean a cycle, but the single entry is not enough to prove it.

The third notice occurs in B.C. 729 and 728, and refers to sacrifices and ceremonies in Babylonia; the same ceremonies being repeated by Sargon, in B.C. 710; these, therefore, cannot possibly refer to a sixty-year cycle.

The last notice, at the accession of Assurbanipal, is only the calendar festival for the day in question, and occurred every year; therefore it also could not refer to a cycle.

With regard to the idea of the rebellion of Assurdainpal lasting nineteen years, this is opposed to the Assyrian statement. Samsivul says, "When" the twenty-seven districts revolted, he subdued them; and no allusion is made to any long period between the revolt and its extinction; and it is impossible to insert nineteen years in the canon here, as the official Assurbanaiuzur, governor of the palace, was eponym in B.C. 856, and again in B.C. 826, and a third time in B.C. 817; thus holding office at least for forty years. Now if twenty years were inserted in the canon here, it would make this officer occupy the third post in the kingdom for at least sixty years!

Another gap has been suggested in the canon, between B.C. 770 and 769, by the Rev. D. H. Haigh, as there appeared an interruption in the titles of the eponymes; but this theory was abandoned afterwards by its author as untenable. Excellent remarks in answer to it were given by Canon Rawlinson, in

Zeitschrift fur Agyptische Sprache, April 1870; but it must be allowed that in this place, if anywhere, a gap should take place, as there is a break in the titles.

The third gap is proposed by Professor Oppert, between the eponymes for B.C. 746 and 745. Here he proposes to insert forty-seven years, during which time he believes a Chaldean, named Pul, reigned, who instituted no eponymes. The reasons against this theory are:

1. The regular order of the titles of the eponymes is not interrupted in the place of the supposed gap; the governor of Arbaha, B.C. 745, succeeded to the governor of Nisibin, B.C. 746, as usual.

2. The officer Vulbeluzur was eponym B.C. 748 and 738; and if forty-seven years were inserted, he would have held office fifty-seven years at least, which is extremely unlikely.

3. There is an utter absence in the inscriptions of any contemporary account, or later notice, of this supposed period of forty-seven years.

Slight errors in the Assyrian canon have been suggested in other places; but these only rest on untenable conjectures, and therefore I do not introduce them here.

One great reason why Professor Oppert proposed the gap of forty-six years was the fact that the Pul, king of Assyria, who, according to 2 Kings xv. 19, took tribute from Menahem, had not been identified among the known Assyrian monarchs; and Professor Oppert inserts his reign in the supposed gap.

The fact that we are unable to identify the king called Pul in the Bible is a grave difficulty, and

lends some support to the idea that he was a monarch whose name is not in the eponymous list. While I do not agree with the idea of a gap of forty-seven years in the canon, I must confess this difficulty cannot at present be solved; but it appears to me that there are three possible explanations:

1. That Pul is Vul-nirari III., who may have been still reigning in B.C. 772, and who may have made expeditions to Palestine in B.C. 773 and 772, at the beginning of the reign of Menahem (according to Ussher's chronology), and at the very time when Pul is supposed to have taken tribute from the Israelites. Vul-nirari claims the conquest of Omri (or Samaria), Philistia, and Edom.

2. The second possible explanation is, that Pul was a monarch who followed Assur-daan II., and whose name has been excluded from the eponym list between our present eponymes for B.C. 770 and 769; this would necessitate admitting Haigh's second gap in the canon, which might be from six to sixteen years.

3. The third explanation supposes Pul to be a second name of Tiglath Pileser II., who reigned B.C. 745-727; this theory first suggested by Sir Henry Rawlinson, has been adopted by several eminent scholars, including Professor Schrader, of Germany. The principal reasons in favour of this view are:

a. The Bible states that Pul took tribute from Menahem, and the annals of Tiglath Pileser state that he took tribute from Menahem.

b. Late in his reign, Tiglath Pileser ascended the throne of Babylon; and, at this time, the canon of

Ptolemy registers a king at Babylon named Porus, that is, Pul.

c. The passage in 1 Chronicles v. 26, seems to speak of Pul and Tiglath Pileser as the same person.

Of all the theories brought forward at present for the identification of Pul, the supposition that he is the same monarch as Tiglath Pileser has the most evidence in its favour.

I have recently put together some considerations in favour of the accuracy of the canon, from three texts of Sennacherib. The first of these is dated in the twenty-second year of Sennacherib, B.C. 684. This states that the tablet was copied from one which had been neglected and buried, and was found after 101 years. As this tablet belonged to Nebbi Yunas, the palace of which was built by Vulnirari III., and restored by Sennacherib about B.C. 693, it appeared probable that the tablets were found when the restoration of the palace commenced, in B.C. 693, and they would then have been written in B.C. 794; but for a long time I gained no clue in confirmation of this date, until I found a companion tablet, according to which, Sennacherib restored the offerings and institutions made by Vulnirari, in the "eponymy of Mannukiassur," that is, B.C. 794.; and a third tablet, of the same period, relates that various predecessors of Sennacherib had made offerings; and among the names mentioned are Samsivul, Vulnirari, Tiglath Pileser, Shalmaneser, and Sargon. The only date given in the tablet is again B.C. 794, and it states that Vulnirari had made the "writings" and offerings in the eponymy of Mannukiassur."

These incidental statements of the inscriptions and offerings of Vulnirari, in B.C. 794, the finding of the tablets after 101 years, and the restoration of the offerings and palace of Vulnirari, in B.C. 693, form a curious confirmation of the accuracy of the canon, but do not amount to a proof, as the connection between the three statements of Sennacherib is not certain.

A considerable portion of the evidence in favour of the accuracy of the Assyrian canon consists of the dates on various contemporary documents, which contain the names of the contemporary eponymes, and these, although presenting some variations, correspond with the proper names in the eponym canon.

The following dates are given in their chronological order. They are from historical inscriptions, cylinders, contract tablets, etc., and will show the extent of the Assyrian evidence in favour of the accuracy of the canon.

DATES ON MONUMENTS AND DOCUMENTS.

Inscription of Vul-nirari I., cir. 1330.

1. Month Muhur-ili, 20th day, eponym Shalmanurris.

Inscribed Tablet of Shalmaneser I., from Nimroud, B.C. 1310.

1. Month . . . . 4th day, eponym Musipsi, priest of . . . . . .
2. . . . . Shalmaneser the ruler . . . . . .
3. . . . . to his country . . . . . .

Date on Cylinder containing the annals of five years of the reign of Tilgath Pileser I., B.C. 1120.

1. Month Kislev, 29th day, eponym.
2. Ina-iliya-allik the rab-bitur.

Dates in inscription on broken Obelisk, (*C. I.*, vol. iii. p. 4, No. 1).

3. Month . . . . eponym Assur-ram-nisi-su.
20. Month Marchesvan, eopnym Ilu-idina.

I conjecture that this inscription was a brief chronicle of Assyrian wars, and that Assur-ram-nisi-su and Ilu-idina were two Assyrian kings. Many dates, apparently annual, are given on the document.

Date on obelisk from Kouyunjik.

1. In the eponymy of Assur-nazir.

All these dates are before the Assyrian copies of the canon, and serve to show that the usage as regards dating from eponymes was already in use.

The earliest dates within the period of the canon are in the great inscription of Assur-nazir-pal. *C. I.*, vol. i. p. 17-26. These dates are:

B.C. 885. *C. I.*, vol. i., p. 18, l. 43.

In the beginning of my reign, in my first year.

B.C. 884. *C. I.*, vol. i. p. 18, l. 69.

In the next eponymy in the month Ab, 24th day.

B.C. 883. *C. I.*, vol. i., p. 19, l. 99.

In the eponymy called after my name (*i.e.*, Assur-nazir-pal's own eponymy).

C. I., vol. i., p. 19, l. 101.

In the same eponymy.

B.C. 882. *C. I.*, vol. i., p. 20, l. 23.

In the eponymy of Assur-idin.

B.C. 881. *C. I.*, vol. i., p. 21, l. 49.

In the eponymy of Simut-a-ku.

B.C. 880. *C. I.*, vol. i., p. 22, l. 86.

In the month Sivan, 1st day, in the eponymy of Anva-damqa.

B.C. 879. *C. I.*, vol. i., p. 25, l. 1.

In the month Sivan, 22nd day, eponymy of Dagan-bel-nazir.

B.C. 865. *C. I.*, vol. i., p. 25, l. 92.

In the eponymy of Samas-nuri . . . . in the month Iyyar, 20th day.

In the next reign, that of Shalmaneser II., there are several eponym dates. All but one are found in the Kurkh monolith. *C. I.*, vol. iii., p. 7, 8.

These dates are:

B.C. 860. *C. I.*, vol. iii., p. 7, l. 14.

In the beginning of my reign, in my first year.

B.C. 859. *C. I.*, vol. iii., p. 7, l. 29.

In the month Iyyar, 13th day (year not specified).

B.C. 858. *C. I.*, Vol. iii. p. 7, col. 2, l. 13.

In the eponymy called after my name (*i.e.* Shalmaneser's own eponymy) in the month Iyyar, 13th day.

B.C. 857. *C. I.*, Vol. iii., p. 8, l. 30.

In the eponymy of Assur-bel-kain, in the month Tammuz, 13th day.

B.C. 858, and 856. *C. I.*, Vol. iii., p. 8, l. 66-69.

In the beginning of my reign, in the eponymy called after my name, (B.C. 858) from Nineveh I had departed . . . . . after two years, in the eponymy of Assur-banai-uzur, (B.C. 856) after him I pursued.

B.C. 854. *C. I.*, Vol. iii. p. 8, l. 78.

In the eponymy of Dayan-assur, the month Iyyar 14th day.

In the black obelisk inscription of Shalmaneser there is a statement that the fourth expedition was in the eponymy of Dayan-assur, this appears however to be erroneous, as this expedition took place during the eponymy of Assur-banai-uzur, two years earlier.

During the reign of Samsi-vul there is only one dated tablet, which falls in the royal eponymy B.C. 823; this reads:

1. In the month Muhur-ili 25th day.
2. In the eponymy of Samsi-vul.

There are dates in three eponymes during the reign of Vul-nirari III.: the first, which is not a contemporary statement, is on two tablets of the time of Sennacherib; one, K 2655, reads:

a. The king had given in the month Tebet, in the eponymy of Mannu-ki-assur.

b. . . . . of Samsi-vul and Vul-nirari.

The other reads:

The writings appointed and he the sacrifices gave in the eponymy of Mannu-ki-assur, making of Vul-nirari . . . .

These statements refer to the eponymy B.C. 794.

There is one tablet, K 310, dated in the next eponymy B.C. 793; this commences:

1. Vul-nirari, king of Assyria, the ruler.
2. Son of Samsi-vul, king of Assyria, the ruler.
3. Son of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, the ruler, also. The date at the end reads:

Month Tebet, 29th day, eponym Mussallim-ninip.

There is another mutilated date in this reign, belonging to B.C. 787, which reads:

Eponymy of Baladu, governor of Sibanibi.

During the next reign, that of Shalmaneser III., there is no dated monument, but the name of the eponym for B.C. 775 occurs on a small seal, the inscription on which reads:

1. Seal of Assur-bel-uzur.
2. The officer of Sidu-eris.
3. Governor of Rezeph.

The next reign, that of Assur-daan III., presents some peculiarities: and although there are no contemporary dated tablets, there is during it the record of an eclipse which forms a strong confirmation of the accuracy of the canon.

In the reign of Assur-daan after the eponymy of the tartan, in B.C. 770, the titles which usually follow are absent, and the governor of Arbaha comes next in B.C. 769. It is conjectured that the reason of this omission lays in the fact that these officers had so recently held the office of eponym during the last reign that their names were passed over.

The eclipse of the sun in this reign which forms so important a proof of the correctness of the canon happened in the eponymy of Esdu-sarabe, (see

pp. 46, 47, 63) in the month Sivan. Its elements have been calculated by Mr. Hind; and the following table is given from these calculations, by Mr. Airy, the Astronomer Royal.

ECLIPSE OF THE 15TH JUNE, B.C. 763.

G. M. T.	NORTHERN LIMIT.		CENTRE LINE.		SOUTHERN LIMIT.	
	Long.	Lat.	Long.	Lat.	Long.	Lat.
18·54	35° 23′	37° 52′	36° 3′	37° 7′	36° 44′	36° 20′
19·0	38° 29′	38° 53′	39° 6′	38° 4′	39° 43′	37° 14′
19·6	41° 33′	39° 46′	42° 7′	38° 54′	42° 39′	38° 3′
19·12	44° 35′	40° 31′	45° 4′	39° 38′	45° 32′	38° 46′
19·18	47° 34′	41° 9′	47° 59′	40° 14′	48° 23′	39° 21′
19·22	50° 32′	41° 40′	50° 52′	40° 45′	51° 12′	39° 49′

The total absence of contemporary dated documents during the reigns of Shalmaneser III., and Assur-daan III. is remarkable; the Assyrian canon is here the only proof of the reigns of these kings.

In the reign of the next sovereign, Assur-nirari II., B.C. 755-745, two tablets fall. These are:

On an unnumbered tablet, B.C. 750.

Month Ab, 27th day, eponym Bel-daan the rab-bitur.

On K 326. B.C. 747.

Month Iyyar, 4th day, eponym Sin-salim-ani, governor of Rezeph.

During the reign of Tiglath Pileser, B.C. 745-727, we have the following dates:

On K 427, B.C. 742.

Month Sebat, 26th day, eponym Nabu-dain-anni the tartan in the time of Tiglath Pileser . . . .

On K 378. B.C. 734.

. . . . 8th day, eponym Bel-daan in his second eponymy (?)

On K 384. B.C. 730.

Month Nisan, 10th (?) day, eponym Bel-ludari.

On K 639. Same year.

Month Nasan, 15th day, eponym Bel-ludari.

In the time of Shalmaneser IV., B.C. 727-722, there is only one eponym date.

On K 407. B.C. 723.

. . . . 22nd day, eponym Shalmaneser, king of . . . . .

The following are the dates in the reign of Sargon, B.C. 722-705.

On K 3781. B.C. 719.

Month Iyyar, 10th day, eponym Sargon.

No dated tablet of B.C. 718 is known, but the eponym Zira-ibni is mentioned on the contemporary tablets, K 1270, K 1076, K 1235.

From this time there is a regular series of dated tablets, almost every year in the canon being represented; these are:

B.C. 717.

K 280 Month Nisan, eponym Dabu-sar . . . .

K 352 Month Sebat, 16th day, eponym Dabu-sar-assur, the great tugulu.

B.C. 716.

K 2686 City of Calah, Month Sivan, 27th day, eponym Dabu-zilli-esar, governor of Assur, 6th year of Sarukin-arqu (the later Sargon) king of Assyria.

K 3067 . . . . Dabu-zilli-esar, governor of . . . .

K 3129 . . . . . of Assur, 6th year of Sarukin-arqu . . . .

K 5283 . . . . . zilli-esar . . . . . .

B.C. 715.

K 335. Eponym Taggil-ana-bel, governor of Nisibin.

S 2276 Month Tebet, 25th day, eponym Taggil-ana-bel.

B.C. 714.

Istr-duri, the eponym of this year, sent the two tablets K 1068 and 504.

B.C. 713.

K 391 . . . . 14th day, eponym Assur-bani.

K 403 . . . . 18th day, eponym Assur-bani.

K 2679 City of Calah, month Veadar, 15th day, 9th year of Sargina-arqu . . . . . .

K 351 Assur-bani, governor of Calah.

K 1989 City of Nineveh, month Sivan, 5th day eponym Assur-bani.

B.C. 712.

K 403 Eponym Saru-emur-anni.

From fragments K 2680, K 2691, K 5284, K 2681, we have the following date: Month Kislev, 12th day, eponym . . . . . governor of Lullume, 10th year of Sarukin-arqu, king of Assyria.

B.C. 711.

K 287 Month Nisan, 21st day, eponym Ninip-alik-pani, governor of Sime.

K 351 Month Iyyar, 15th day, eponym Ninip-alik-pani.

K 2678 City of Calah, month Elul, 25th day,

eponym Ninip-alik-pani, governor of Sihimme, 11th year of Sarukin-arqu, king of Assyria.

K 2692 City of Calah, month Elul, . . . day . . . . alik-pani, governor of Sihimme, 11th year of Saru . . . . . king of Assyria.

K 2683 . . . . . ip-lik-pani, governor of . . . . me . . . . . king of Assyria.

K 2690 Month Elul . . . . . governor of Si . . . . . 11th year of Saru . . . . .

Unnumbered fragment . . . . pani, governor of . . . . arqu . . . . .

B.C. 710.

K 358 Month Adar, 15th day, eponym Samas-bel-uzur.

B.C. 709.

K 383 Month Ab, 20th day, eponym Mannu-ki-assur-liha.

K 427 . . . . . eponym Manu-ki-assur-liha.

K 5280 City of Calah . . . . eponym Mannu-ki-assur-liha, governor of Be [-le 13th] year of Sar [-gina-arqu king of Assyria and 1st year king of Babylon].

K 2688 eponym Mannu-ki-assur . . . 13th year of Sargina-arqu . . . . . .

K 5277 . . . . . Bele . . . . . Assyria, and 1st year king of Babylon.

Tablet in Louvre. Month Marchesvan, 13th day, eponym Mannu-ki-assur-liha, governor of Bele, 12th year of Sargon, king of Assyria.

B.C. 708.

K 2682 City of Calah, month Nisan, 14th day,

eponym Samas-upahhir, governor of . . . . 14th year of Sargina-arqu, king of [Assyria, and] 2nd year [king of Babylon].

K 2689 . . . . ah, month Nisan, 4th day, eponym Samas-upahhir, governor of . . . . . gina-arqu, king of Assyria, ... king . . . .

K 2685 . . . . Nisan, 15th day . . . . . hir . . .

K 3070 . . . . eponym Samas-upahhir, governor . . . . . 14th year of Sargina-arqu, king . . . . .

B.C. 707.

K 3074 City of Calah, month Marchesvan, 16th day, eponym Sa-assur-gubbu, governor of Tushan, 15th year of Sargina-arqu, king of [Assyria], and [3rd] year [king of Babylon].

K 3066 City of Calah, month Marchesvan, 14th day . . . . . Tushan . . . . . Assyria . . . . .

K 3055 . . . . . Sa-assur-gub . . . . . of Tushan . . . . . king of Assyria, and 3rd . . . . .

K 3064 . . . . . assur-gubbu, prefect of Tushan, ... 3rd year king of Babylon.

S 2045 . . . . . eponym Sa-assur-gubbu, governor of Tu . . . . . of Assyria, 3rd year king of Bab . . . . .

B.C. 706.

K 5281 Month Sebat, 22nd day, eponym, Mu . . . . . gina-arqu . . . . . .

K 3044 Month Sebat, 24th day, eponym Mutag [-gil-assur, governor of Gozan], 16th year of Sargina-arqu [king of Assyria], and 4th year [king of Babylon].

K 5279 . . . . . assur, governor of Go . . . . .

B.C. 705.

Unnumbered fragment, Month Nisan, 2nd day, eponym . . . . . 17th year of Sar . . . . . .

B.C. 704.

Fragments of three tablets give: Month Adar, 22nd day, eponym Nabu-deni-epus, governor of Nineveh, 1st year of Sennacherib, king of Assyria.

K 325 Month Nisan, 1st (?) day, eponym Nabu-denu-epus.

B.C. 703.

Unnumbered fragment . . . . 16th day . . . . . Kannunai.

B.C. 702.

Bellino cylinder: Month seventh, eponym Nabu-liha, governor of Arbela.

B.C. 701.

K 3163 . . . . . eponym Hananu, governor of . . . . . .

B.C. 700.

K 304 Eponym Mitunu, prefect of Isana.

K 2856 Month Kislev, 11th day, eponym Mitunu, governor of Isana, 6th year of Sennacherib, king of Assyria.

Cylinder B. Month Iyyar, eponym Mitunu, governor of . . . . .

B.C. 699.

K 316 Month Adar, 21st day, eponym Bel-sar-ani, governor of Kurban.

K 450 Month Sivan, 1st day . . . . . an . . . . governor of Kurban.

B.C. 698.

K 393 Month Iyyar, 2nd day, eponym Sulumu-sari.

K 398 Month Kislev . . . . eponym Sulumu . . . . 7th year of Senna. . . . . .

B.C. 697.

K 300 Eponym Nabu-dur-uzur, Month Tebet, 7th day.

Cylinder C. . . . . 8th day . . . . uzur . . . . nunna.

B.C. 696.

There are no dates of this year.

B.C. 695.

K 349 Month Adar, 4th day, eponym Nabu-bel-uzur, collector of Assuracherib (Sennacherib) . . . . of Assyria.

B.C. 694.

K 346 Month Tisri, 1st day, eponym Ilkiya, governor of Damascus.

K 389 Month Ab, 15th day, eponym Ilkiya, governor of Damascus.

K 370 Month Adar, 10th day, eponym, Ilkiya.

K 1867 Eponym Ilkiya.

K 75 Month Adar, 23rd day, eponym Ilkiya, governor of Damascus, and 11th year of Sennacherib, king of Assyria.

B.C. 693.

K 414 Month Ab, 9th day, eponym Nadni-ahi.

K 3501 Eponym Nadni-ahi.

S 461 Month Nisan, eponym Nadni-ahi, governor of Zimira.

B.C. 692.

K 294 Month Sivan, 16th day, eponym Zazai, governor of Arpad.

K 360 Month Sebat, 1st day eponym Zazaku.

B.C. 691.

Taylor cylinder. Month Adar, 20th day, eponym Bel-emur-ani, governor of Carchemish.

B.C. 690, 689.

There are no contemporary dates of these years.

B.C. 688.

K 441 Month Iyyar, 15th day, eponym Nadni-ahi, governor of Dur-sargon.

B.C. 687.

K 423 . . . . Kislev, 3rd day . . . . Sennacherib.

K 405 Month Ab, 13th day, eponym Sennacherib.

K 419 Month Ab, 15th day, eponym Sennacherib, king of Assyria.

K 413 Month Tisri, 20th day, eponym Senna-cherib.

T 156 Month Sebat, 22nd day, eponym Senna-cherib, king of Assyria.

B.C. 686.

K 343 Month Ab, 2nd day, eponym Bel-emur-ani, the tartan.

K 308 Month Tammuz, 1st day, eponym Bel-emur-ani, the tartan.

K 1575 Eponym Bel-emur-ani, the tartan, month Sivan, 29th day.

B.C. 685.

K 395 . . . . 8th day, eponym Assur-dain-ani.

K 406 Month Tisri, eponym Assur-dain-ani.

B.C. 684.

K 2670 Month Tebet, 20th day, eponym Mazar . . . . governor of Kulla . . . . 22nd year of Senna-cherib, king of Assyria.

K 1429 . . . . eponym . . . . ile.

Unnumbered tablet. Month Nisan, 10th day, eponym Man-zar-ile.

B.C. 683.

K 361 Month Tebet, 25th day, eponym Mannu-ki-vul.

K 394 Eponym Mannu-ki-vul.

K 380 Month Tebet, 25th day, eponym Mannu-ki-vul.

K 366 Month Elul, 20th day, eponym Mannu-ki-vul.

K 371 Eponym Mannu-ki-vul.

S 475 Month Sivan, 7th day, eponym Mannu-ki-vul.

B.C. 682.

K 339 Month Tisri, 5th day, eponym Nabu-sar-uzur.

K 379 Month Ab, 7th day, eponym Nabu-sar'. . . . governor of Marqasi.

K 445 . . . . 11th day . . . . sar-uzur, governor of Marqasi.

K 373 Month Nisan, 21st day, eponym Nabu-sar-uzur.

K 1858 Month Iyyar, 20th day, eponym Nabu-sar-uzur.

B.C. 681.

S 701 Month Iyyar, 5th day, eponymy after Nabu-sar-uzur, governor of Marqasi.

K 348 Month Kislev, eponym Nabu-ahi-eres.

K 333 Month Elul, 27th day, eponym Nabu-ahi-eres, governor of Samalla.

K 354 . . . . . Iyyar, 12th day, eponym Nabu-ahi . . . . es, governor of Sama . . .

K 288 Month Ab, 21st day, eponym Nabu-ahi-eres, governor of Samalla.

S 1064 Month Elul, 22nd day, eponym Nabu-ahi-eres.

B.C. 680.

K 76 Month Tisri, eponym Dananu.

K 322 Month Nisan, 28th day, eponym Dananu, governor of Marqasi.

K 332 Month Tammuz, 18th day, eponym Dananu, governor of Manzuat . . . . haddon, king of Assyria.

K 3789 Month Iyyar, 16th day, eponym Dananu, governor of Manzuat.

B.C. 679.

K 341 Month Tisri, 13th day, eponym Ta-vul-aninu.

K 400 Month Sivan, 12th day, eponym Ta-vul-aninu.

B.C. 678.

K 1617 . . . . . 7th day . . . . . Nergal-sar-uzur the rab-bitur.

B.C. 677.

K 4283 . . . Adar, 6th day, eponym Ab-ramu.

Fragment of cylinder . . . . . Ab-ramu the sukulu-rabu.

B.C. 676.

K 350 Month Sivan, 11th day, eponym Bamba.

K 356 Month Tisri, 1st day, eponym Bamba.

K 410 Month Nisan, 22nd day, eponym Bamba, the second sukulu.

K 1397 . . . . 4th day . . . . Bamba.

B.C. 675.

K 1575 . . . . eponym Nabu-ahi-idina.

B.C. 674.

K 285 Month Tebet, 25th day, eponym Saru-nuri.

K 377 Month Tisri, eponym Saru-nuri.

B.C. 673.

K 376 Month Iyyar, 7th day, eponym Adar-ili.

Broken cylinder: Month Bel-babi, eponym Adar-ili, governor of Lahiru.

B.C. 672.

K 284 Month Sivan, 28th day, eponym Nabu-bel-uzur.

B.C. 671.

K 347 Month Tammuz, 20th day, eponym Debitai, of the new palace.

K 306 Month Adar, 1st day, eponym Debitai, of the new palace.

K 416 Month Adar, 1st day, eponym Debitai, the sardinnu.

K 399 Month Tammuz, 21st day, eponym Debitai, of the new palace.

B.C. 670.

K 327 Month Elul, 20th day, eponym Salmu-bel-lasmi, governor of Duran.

K 977 Month . . . . . eponym Salmu-bel-lasmi.

S 3 Month Iyyar, 1st day, eponym Samu-bel-lasmi, governor of Diri.

B.C. 669.

K 363 Month Tisri, 23rd day, eponym Samas-kasid-aibi.

K 388 Month Nisan, 20th day, eponym Samas-kasid . . . . governor of . . . .

K 1492 . . . . 5th day . . . . Samas-kasid-aibi.

B.C. 668.

K 321 Month Ab, 24th day, eponym Marlarim, the tartan of Ku . . . . in the time of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria.

K 387 Month Iyyar, 10th day, eponym Marlar . . . .

K 1474 Month Sebat, eponym Marlarim.

B.C. 667.

K 309 Month Iyyar, 26th day, eponym Gabbaru.

K 372 Month Adar, 16th day, eponym Gabbaru.

Unnumbered fragment . . . . 5th day, eponym Gab . . . .

B.C. 666 (?)

Eponym of this year uncertain.

B.C. 665 (?)

K 365 Month Tebet, 22nd day, eponym Mannu-ki-sari.

S 957 Month Marchesvan, 17th day, eponym Mannu-ki-sari, officer of the king.

B.C. 664 (?)

K 404 Month Tebet, 25th day, eponym Saraludari.

B.C. 663 (?)

K 319 Month Iyyar, 26th day, eponym Bel-nahid,

K 324 Month Tebet, 25th day, eponym Bel-nahid, the tartan.

B.C. 662 (?)

Mentioned on K 111.

B.C. 661 (?)

K 111. Month Tisri, 25th day, eponym Arabailai, the second priest.

B.C. 660 (?)

K 217 Month Tammuz, 26th day, eponym Girza-bunu.

B.C. 659 (?)

K 281 Month Iyyar, eponym Silin-assur.

B.C. 658 (?) and B.C. 657 (?)

Eponymes unknown.

B.C. 656 (?)

K 342 Month Sivan, 15th day, eponym Sa-nabu-su, the officer.

B.C. 655 (?)

K 211 Month Marchesvan, 9th day, eponym Labasi, the . . . .

B.C. 654 (?)

There is no date of this year.

B.C. 653 (?)

K 4211 Month Sivan 26th day, eponym Au-yanu, governor of Babylon (?)

B.C. 652 (?)

There is no date of this year.

B.C. 651 (?)

K 328 . . . . . eponym Assur-ilai, the sukulu.

Unnumbered fragment. Month Iyyar, 20th day, eponym Assur-ilai.

B.C. 650 (?)

K 84 Month Iyyar, 23rd day, eponym Assur-dur-uzur.

K 455 Month Tammuz, 23rd day, eponym Assur-dur-uzur.

B.C. 649 (?)

K 286 Month Sivan, 10th day, and month Tisri, 9th day, eponym Sagab.

K 159 Month Nisan, 4th day, eponym Sagab.

K 1360 Month Elul, 7th day, eponym Sagab.

K 4 Month Tisri, 15th day, eponym Sagab.

K 3161 Month Marchesvan, 17th day, eponym Sagab.

B.C. 648 (?)

K 312 Month Iyyar, 5th day, eponym Bel-harran-sadua.

K 1292 Month Nisan, 13th day, eponym Bel-sadua, governor of Tyre.

K 291 Month Iyyar, 22nd day, eponym Bel-sadua.

K 417 Month Sivan, 11th day, eponym Bel-harran . . . . .

K 402 . . . . 20th day, eponym Bel-sadua.

Observatory report. Month Sebat, 1st day, eponym Bel-harran-sadua.

B.C. 647 (?)

There are no dated tablets of this year.

B.C. 646 (?)

On Cylinder B. Month Ab . . . . eponym Bel-sunu . . . .

Another copy. Month Tammuz, eponym Bel-suna, governor of Hinda . . .

Observatory report: Month Tammuz, 2nd day, eponym Bel-sunu; Bel-sunu, governor of Hindana.

B.C. 645 (?)

K 323 Month Elul, 13th day, eponym Nabu-sar-ahi-su.

Cylinder date: Month Ab, 6th day, eponym Nabu-sar-ahi-su, governor of Samaria.

B.C. 644 (?)

K 381 Month Elul, 5th day, eponym Samas-dain-ani.

K 1378 Month Nisan, 1st day, eponym Samas-dain-ani.

Cylinder A. Month Nisan, 1st day, eponym Samas-dain-ani, governor of Akkad.

Another copy. Month Elul, 28th day, eponym Samas-dain-ani, governor of Babylon.

Later dates, years uncertain.

Eponymy of Sin-sur-uzur, the scribe.

K 421 Month Tebet, 3rd day, eponym Sin-sur-uzur, scribe of the country.

K 173 Month Iyyar, eponym Sin-sar-uzur.

K 311 Month Sivan, 17th day, eponym Sin-sar-uzur.

K 329 Month Iyyar, 20th day, eponym Sin-sar-uzur, scribe of the country.

K 420 Month Sebat, 13th day, eponym Sin-sar-uzur, the scribe.

Eponymy of Sin-sar-uzur, governor of Hindana.

K 309 Month Sebat, 3rd day, eponym Sin-sar-uzur, governor of Hindana.

Eponymy of Bulludu.

K 293 Month Iyyar, 5th day, eponym Bulludu.

K 418 . . . . . 11th day, ... Buluddu.

Eponymy of Vul-utul-ani.

K 318 Month Sebat, 3rd day, eponym Vul-util-ani.

K 313 Month Tisri, 9th day, eponym Vul-util-ani.

Eponymy of Nabu-sar-uzur.

K 320 Month Nisan, 19th day, eponym Nabu-sar-uzur, scribe of the country.

Eponymy of Assur-mati-izmad.

K 330 Month Tebet, 7th day, eponym Assur-mati-izmad.

K 295 Month Elul, 1st day, eponym Assur-mati-izmad.

K 368 Month Tisri, 21st day, eponym Assur-mati-izmad.

Unnumbered fragment. Month Sebat, 6th day, eponym Assur-mati-izmad, governor of . . . . .

Eponymy of Musallim-assur.

K 331 Month Kislev, 18th day, eponym Musallim-assur.

K 279 Month Elul, 12th day, eponym Musallim-assur.

K 353 Month Sebat, 22nd day, eponym Musallim-assur, governor of Alihi.

Eponymy of Mannu-ki-ahi.

K 336 Month Iyyar, 20th day, eponym Mannu-ki-ahi, governor of Zimirra.

Eponymy of Nabu-bel-idina.

K 334 Month Elul, 5th day, eponym Nabu-bel-idina.

Eponymy of Nabu-dani-anni.

K 314 Month Sivan, 1st day, eponym Nabu-dani-anni, governor of Que.

Eponymy of Assur-dain-sar.

K 340 Month Nisan, 27th day, eponym Assur-dain-sar.

Eponymy of Assur-utul-ani.

K 305 Month Iyyar, 10th day, eponym Assur-utul-ani.

Eponymy of Assur-gimil-tirri.

K 362 Month Tammuz, eponym Assur-gimil-tirri.

K 364 Month Iyyar, 11th day, eponym Assur-gimil-tirri.

K 382 Month Elul, 18th day, eponym Assur-gimil-tirri, the great tukulu.

Eponymy of Upaqa-ana-arbail.

K 299 Month Nisan, 26th day, eponym Upaqa-ana-arbail.

K 408 Month Iyyar, 17th day . . . . Upaqa-ana-arbail.

Eponymy of Nusar-iqbi.

K 301 Month Iyyar, 20th day, eponym Nusar-iqbi, the left-hand tartan.

K 282 Month Ab, 24th day, eponym Nusar-iqbi.

K 298 Month Sebat, 17th day, eponym Nusar-iqbi, tartan of the city of Kummuha.

K 415 Month . . . 17th day, eponym Nusar-iqbi.

K 409 Month Sebat, eponym Nusar-iqbi.

Eponymy of Zamama-iriba.

K 296 Month Tammuz, 17th day, eponym Zamama-iriba.

Eponymy of Maruduk-sar-uzur.

K 3721 Month . . . . 14th day, eponym Maruduk-sar-uzur.

K 345 Month . . . . 8th day, eponym Maruduk-sar-uzur.

K 386 Month Adar, 14th day, eponym Maruduk-sar-uzur, governor of Que.

K 436 . . . . . eponym Maruduk-sar-uzur.

Eponymy of Nur.

K 289 Month Marchesvan, 3rd day, eponym Nur.

Eponymy of Bel-saba-anni.

K 412 Month Adar, 25th day, eponym Bel-saba-anni.

Eponymy of Nabu-nadin-ahu.

K 355 Month Elul, 5th day, eponym Nabu-nadin-ahu.

Eponymy of Saru-nahid, the rabkarnadu.

K 2729 Month Marchesvan, 6th day, eponym Saru-nahid, the rabkarnadu.

Eponymy of Saru-nahid, the tukulu.

K 359 Month Ab, 20th day, eponym Saru-nahid, the tukulu.

K 374 Month Marchesvan, 21st day, eponym Saru-nahid, the tukulu.

Eponymy of Nabu-saqap.

K 367 Month Nisan, 15th day, eponym Nabu-saqap.

Eponymy of Assur-garua-niri.

K 411 Month Nisan, 23rd day . . . . Assur-garua-niri.

K 397 Month Tisri, 13th day, eponym Assur-garua-niri.

Eponymy of Barku-utul-anni.

K 344 Month Sivan, eponym Barku-utul-anni.

Eponymy of Daddi.

On Barrel Cylinder: . . . . . 13th day, eponym Daddi, the great tukulu.

Eponymy of Sin-alik-pani.

Tablet copied by Layard (since lost). Month Sivan, 14(?)th day, eponym Sin-alik-pani.

CHAPTER V.

The Eponym Canon and Canon of Ptolemy compared.

THE important bearing of the Assyrian canon on general chronology is shown most clearly in its relations to the canon of Ptolemy, and the chronology of the Books of Kings.

The canon of Ptolemy, is a chronological compilation with astronomical notes, commencing B.C. 747 with the reigns of the Babylonian kings. This canon suppresses all reigns which are shorter than a year, making the odd months complete the years of the other monarchs; in this respect, its system is artificial; and the years being further counted according to the vague or wandering Egyptian year, differ to the extent of a month or two from the ordinary Assyrian and Babylonian year. In spite of these changes, so far as it has been tested, the canon has proved an accurate and reliable document; and it is, therefore, of the first importance to compare its dates with those of the Assyrian canon, wherever it is possible to do so. There is one point

to be noticed before this comparison: Ptolemy starts with the first year of each king named; and as this was generally, in Assyria and Babylonia, the first full year after the accession, we must, as a rule, add one year to Ptolemy's dates to obtain the accession year.

The list of Ptolemy in the Assyrian period is as follows:

	LIST.	LENGTH OF REIGN.	DATE B.C.
1	Nabonassar	14	747
2	Nabius	2	733
3	Chinzirus and Porus	5	731
4	Jugæus or Ilulœus	5	726
5	Mardocempadus	12	721
6	Arkianus	5	709
7	Interregnum	2	704
8	Belibus	3	702
9	Apronadisus	6	699
10	Iregibelus	1	693
11	Mesesimordakus	4	692
12	Interregnum	8	688
13	Asaridinus	13	680
14	Saosduchinus	20	667
15	Isiniladanus	22	647
16	Nabopolassar	21	625

We have here sixteen dates to compare with the Assyrian annals, and our evidence confirms ten of them; the two first, three in the middle, and the last

being the only ones on which no information has been discovered.

The first date of Ptolemy, B.C. 747, falls one year before the revolt at Caleb, B.C. 746, and two years before the accession of Tiglath Pileser, B.C. 745, and does not appear to synchronise with any Assyrian date.

The next date, B.C. 733, also does not appear in the Assyrian annals.

The third date of Ptolemy, the first year of Chinzirus and Porus, B.C. 731, is the point where his list and the Assyrian canon first come into contact. In the eponymy corresponding to B.C. 731, Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, invaded Babylonia, killed Nabu-usabsi, who may correspond to the Nabius of Ptolemy, and besieged Kin-ziru (the Chinzirus of Ptolemy), in his capital, Sapiya. Some time after this, Tiglath Pileser claimed the Babylonian crown; and the canon of Ptolemy inserts with the name of Chinzirus that of Porus or Pul, who has been supposed by Rawlinson, Schrader, and others to be the same as Tiglath Pileser.

The next date in Ptolemy, B.C. 726, is also the first year of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, who ascended the throne, B.C. 727.

The Mardocempadus of Ptolemy is well known as the Merodach Baladan of the Second Book of Kings, and the Maruduk-bal-idina of the inscriptions, who ascended the throne of Babylon, B.C. 722, contemporary with the accession of Sargon in Assyria, the first year of the reign of both monarchs being B.C. 721, perfectly agreeing with Ptolemy. Thus

Arkianus, who, according to Ptolemy, succeeded him and had his first year in B.C. 709, must be Sargon who conquered Merodach Baladan, in B.C. 710, and who counts his own first year as king of Babylon, equivalent to his thirteenth in Assyria (see dated tablets, p. 86), B.C. 709.

The reign of Sargon ended B.C. 705, and Ptolemy reckons B.C. 704 and 703 as years of interregnum. According to the Assyrian inscriptions, in B.C. 704, Sennacherib drove out Merodach Baladan; and in B.C. 703 set up at Babylon Bel-ibni, whom Ptolemy calls Belibus, giving his first year B.C. 702. In the year B.C. 700, Sennacherib again invaded the country, and set up his son, Assur-nadin-sum, as king of Babylon: he corresponds to the Apronadisus of Ptolemy; his first year was B.C. 699. The following dates of Ptolemy, B.C. 693,692, and 688, are not confirmed by any known inscription; but the next date, B.C. 680, for the first year of Esarhaddon, agrees with the Assyrian inscriptions, which make his accession B.C. 681. The first year of Saosduchinus, according to Ptolemy, B.C. 667, also agrees with his accession, according to the Assyrian history, on the death of Esarhaddon, B.C. 668.

Our evidence is not quite complete with respect to the next date, B.C. 647 in Ptolemy, probably agreeing with the end of the reign of Saul-mugina (Saosduchinus), in B.C. 648. The Isiniladanus of Ptolemy here probably agrees with the name Sin-nadina-pal, a son of Esarhaddon, whom I conjectured to be the same as Assurbanipal; this identification is, however, extremely doubtful.

The following table will show the principal dates in Ptolemy and the Assyrian canon for the period B.C. 747-625.

PTOLEMY'S CANON.		ASSYRIAN CANON.	
NAMES.	FIRST YEAR.	NAMES.	ACCESSION YEAR.
Nabonassar	747	Tiglath Pileser (in Assyria)	745
Nabius	733	Nabu-usabsi	
Chinzirus and Porus	731	Kinziru	731
Ilulæus	726	Shalmaneser (in Assyria)	727
Mardocempadus	721	Merodach Baladan	722
Arkianus	709	Sargon	710
Interregnum	704	Sennacherib (in Assyria)	705
Belibus	702	Bel-ibni	703
Apronadisus	699	Assur-nadin-sum	700
Iregibelus	693		
Mesesimordakus	692		
Interregnum	688		
Asaridinus	680	Esarhaddon	681
Saosduchinus	667	Saulmugina	668
Isiniladanus	647	Sin-nadina-pal (?)	648
Nabopalassar	625	Death of Assurbanipal (?)	626

CHAPTER VI.

Assyrian Notices of Palestine and Jewish History.

THE relation of the Assyrian canon to the chronology of the second Book of Kings, and many important questions arising out of it, are at present not by any means settled; and so conflicting is the evidence, that it is difficult to arrive at a satisfactory opinion.

It will be convenient, in relation to this subject, to give first by themselves all the references to Palestinian events in the inscriptions with their dates, and follow them by any necessary comment.

The first notice occurs in the eponymy of Dayan-assur, in the sixth year of Shalmaneser II, B.C. 854. Of this there are three copies.

Extract I. Kurkh Monolith, reverse l. 71-102.
C. I. Vol. iii. p. 8.

78 In the eponymy of Dayan-assur, the month Iyyar, 14th day, from Nineveh I departed, the river Tigris I crossed; to the cities

79 of Giammu, by the river Belichus I approached. The terribleness of my dominion and the fierceness

of my powerful soldiers they feared, and with their own weapons Giammu their lord

80 they slew. Into Kitlala and Tul-abilahi I entered; my gods I placed in his palaces; a contribution in his palaces I levied;

81 the storehouse I opened; his treasures I removed; his goods, his furniture, I carried off, to my city Assur I brought. From Kitlala I departed, to Karu-Shalmaneser

82 I approached, on rafts of inflated skins a second time the river Euphrates in its flood I crossed. The tribute of the kings on the other side of the river Euphrates, of Sagara

83 of Carchemesh, of Kundaspi of Kumuha, of Aram son of Gusi, of Lalli of Milid, Hayani son of Gabari,

84 of Garparuda of Patina, of Garparuda of Gauguma; silver, gold, lead, copper, vessels of copper,

85 in the city of Assur-utir-azbat, on the other side of the river Euphrates over against the river Sagur, which the people of Syria the city of Pethor

86 call, in the midst of it I received. From over the river Euphrates I departed, to the city of Halman (Aleppo) I approached, they avoided war and took my yoke.

87 Silver and gold their tribute I received, sacrifices and libations before the god Vul of Halman I made. From Halman I departed, to two cities

88 of Irhuleni of Hamath I approached, Addena, Barga, and Agana, his capital I captured, his furniture,

89 the goods of his palaces I brought out, I set

fire to his palaces. From Argana I departed, to Aroer I approached,

90 Aroer my (*sic*) royal city I pulled down, destroyed, and in the fire I burned. 12,000 chariots, 12,000 carriages and 20,000 men of Ben-hadar

91 of Syria, 700 chariots, 700 carriages, and 10,000 men of Irhuleni of Hamath, 2000 chariots and 10,000 men of Ahab

92 of Sirhala (Israel ?) 500 men of the Goim, 1000 men of Egypt, 10 chariots and 10,000 men of Irqanata,

93 200 men of Matinu-bahal of Arvad, 200 men of Usanata, 30 chariots and 10,000 men

94 of Adoni-bahal of Siana, 1,000 camels of Ginidibuh of Arabia . . . 00 men

95 of Baasha son of Rehob of Ammon. These 12 kings to his aid he brought, to make

96 war and battle to my presence they came. With the mighty power which Assur the lord gave, with the strong weapons which Nergal marching before me

97 furnished, with them I fought. From Aroer to Kirzau their overthrow I accomplished, 14,000 men

98 of their warriors with weapons I destroyed. Like Vul over them a storm I raised, their wounded

99 the face of the district I caused to fill, the whole of their army with weapons I struck down. With their corpses the extent of the district

100 was turned to desert; to the bottom its life I crushed, the whole of their fields I destroyed, and with the bodies

101 over the river Orontes a bridge I made. In the midst of that battle their chariots, their carriages,

102 their horses fastened to the yoke, I took from them.

Extract II.

The second account of this war is in the Bull inscription. *Layard* p. 46, l. 1 to 9.

1 In my sixth year from Nineveh I departed, to the cities which are beside

2 the river Belichus I approached, before my powerful warriors they feared, and Giammu their lord they slew. To Tul-abilahi I entered

3 the city for myself I took. From the side of the river Belichus I departed, the river Euphrates in flood I crossed, the tribute of the kings

4 of the Hittites I received. From Hatti I departed, to Halman I approached, sacrifices and libations before the god Vul of Halman I made.

5 From Halman I departed, to Aroer I approached, Ben-hadar of Syria, Irhulini of Hamath,

6 and the 12 kings of the shore of the sea to each other's power trusted, and to make battle and war

7 to my presence came. With them I fought, their overthrow I accomplished, 25,000 men of their warriors with weapons I destroyed, their chariots,

8 their carriages, their weapons of war I took from them. To save their lives they fled. In ships I rode, to the midst of the sea I went.

Extract III.

The third account is on the black obelisk. *Layard*, p. 89, 90, l. 54 to 66.

54 In my sixth year to the cities which are beside the Belichus

55 I approached. Giammu lord of those cities they slew.

56 Into Tul-abilahi I entered,

57 the river Euphrates in its flood I crossed,

58 tribute of the kings of the Hittites

59 all of them I received. In those days Ben-hadar

60 of Syria, Irhulini of Hamath, and the kings

61 of the Hittites and beside the sea, to each other's power

62 trusted, and to make battle and war

63 to my presence came. By the will of Assur the great lord my lord

64 with them I fought, their overthrow I accomplished,

65 their chariots, their carriages, their weapons of war I took from them.

66 20,500 men of their warriors with weapons I destroyed.

A few years later in the 10th and 11th years of Shalmaneser B.C. 850, 849 there was again war in this direction; two accounts of which remain.

Extract IV.

On Bulls. *Layard* p. 15, l. 29 to 41 and p. 46, 47, 17 to 26.

29 In my tenth year

30 the eighth time the river Euphrates I crossed, the cities of Sangar of Carchemesh I pulled down, destroyed, and burned in the fire. From the cities

31 of Carchemesh I departed, to the cities of Aram I approached, Arne his capital I captured and 100 cities which were near it

32 I pulled down, destroyed, and burned in the fire, their warriors I slew, their spoil I carried off. In those days Ben-hadar of Syria, Irhulini

33 of Hamath, and the 12 kings beside the sea, to each other's power trusted, and to make battle and war to my presence came.

34 With them I fought, their overthrow I accomplished, their chariots, their carriages, their weapons of war, I took from them. To save their lives they fled.

35 In my eleventh year from Nineveh I departed, the ninth time the river Euphrates in its flood I crossed, 97 cities of Sangar I captured, 100 cities of Arami

36 I captured, I pulled down, destroyed, and burned in the fire. The side of Ḥamanu I took, Yaraqu I crossed, to the cities of Hamath I went down.

37 Astamaku and 99 cities I captured, their warriors I slew, their spoil I carried off. In those days Ben-hadar of Syria, Irhulini of Hamath,

38 and the 12 kings beside the sea, to each other's power trusted, and to make battle and war to my presence came. With them I fought, their overthrow

39 I accomplished, 10,000 of their fighting men with weapons I destroyed, their chariots, their carriages, their weapons of war, I took from them. On my return Apparasu

40 the fortress of Arami I captured. In those days the tribute of Garparundi of Patina, silver, gold, lead, horses, oxen, sheep,

41 garments of wool and linen I received.

Extract V.

Black obelisk. *Layard*, p. 91, l. 85 to 89.

85 In my tenth year the eighth time the river Euphrates I crossed, the cities of Sangara of Carchemesh I captured,

85 to the cities of Arami I approached, Arne his capital and 100 of his cities I captured.

87 In my eleventh year the ninth time the river Euphrates I crossed, cities without number I captured; to the cities of the Hittites

88 of Hamath I went down, 89 cities I captured. Ben-hadar of Syria, 12 kings of the Hittites,

89 to each other's power trusted. Their overthrow I accomplished.

In his fourteenth year B.C. 846, Shalmaneser again defeated the same confederacy, there are two accounts of this war.

Extract VI.

On Bulls. *Layard*, p. 16, l. 43 to 46.

43 In my fourteenth year the whole of the country without number I collected, with

44 120,000 of my warriors the river Euphrates in its flood I crossed. In those days Ben-hadar of Syria, Irhulini of Hamath and

45 the kings beside the sea above and below; their warriors without number collected, to my presence they came. With them I fought,

46 their overthrow I accomplished, their chariots their carriages, I brought out, their weapons of war I took from them. To save their lives they fled.

Extract VII.

Black obelisk. *Layard*, p. 91, 92, l. 91, 92.

91 In my fourteenth year the country I gathered, the river Euphrates I crossed, 12 kings to my presence came,

92 I fought, their overthrow I accomplished.

Four years later Shalmaneser again attacked Palestine: there are three extracts belonging to this war.

Extract VIII.

Bull Inscription. *C. I.*, vol. iii., p. 5. No. 6.

1 In my eighteenth year the sixteenth time the river Euphrates
2 I crossed. Hazael of Syria
3 to the might of his warriors
4 trusted, and his warriors
5 in numbers he gathered.
6 Saniru a peak of the mountains
7 which are in front of Lebanon as his stronghold
8 he made. With him I fought,
9 his overthrow I accomplished. 18,000
10 men of his army with weapons
11 I destroyed, 1,121 of his chariots,
12 470 of his carriages, with his camp
13 I took from him. To save
14 his life he fled. After him I pursued,
15 in Damascus his royal city I besieged him,
16 his plantations I cut down, to the mountains
17 of Hauran I went, cities
18 without number I pulled down, destroyed,
19 in the fire I burned, their spoil

20 without number I carried off.
21 To the mountains of Bahlirahsi
22 which are at the head of the sea I went. An image of my majesty
23 in the midst I made. In those days
24 the tribute of Tyre
25 and Zidon, of Jehu,
26 son of Omri I received.

Extract IX.

Black obelisk. *Layard*, p. 92, l. 97 to 99.

97 In my eighteenth year the sixteenth time the river Euphrates I crossed. Hazael
98 of Syria to fight came. 1,121 of his chariots, 470 of his carriages, with
99 his camp, I took from him.

Extract X.

Black obelisk. *Layard*, p. 98, l. 2.

Tribute of Jehu son of Omri, silver, gold, bowls of gold, cups of gold, bottles of gold, vessels of gold, maces, royal utensils, rods of wood I received of him.

The last notice of Palestine in Shalmaneser's inscriptions relates to his 21st year, B.C. 839.

Extract XI.

Black obelisk. *Layard*, p. 92, l. 102 to 104.

102 In my twenty-first year the eighteenth time the river Euphrates I crossed, to the cities
103 of Hazael of Syria I went, 4 of his fortresses I captured, the tribute of Tyre,
104 Zidon, and Gubal I received.

The next reference to Palestine is in an inscription of Vul-nirari, grandson of Shalmaneser. No date is given for these events, and it is generally supposed that Vul-nirari died about B.C. 783 or 782, being succeeded by Shalmaneser III. I, however, suspect that Shalmaneser was only his son, associated with him on the throne, and that the real date of his Palestinian campaigns was about B.C. 773 and 772. It must be observed that this date is only conjectural; and it is quite possible that these campaigns took place much earlier, either in B.C. 806 to 803, 797 or 786.

Extract XII.

Inscription of Vul-nirari III. *C. I.*, vol. i., p. 35.

11 From over the river Euphrates, Syria, and Phœnicia, the whole of it,

12 Tyre, Zidon, Omri, Edom and Philistia,

13 to over against the great sea of the setting sun to my feet

14 I have subjugated, taxes and tribute over them I fixed. To

15 Syria I went. Mariha king of Syria

16 in Damascus his royal city I besieged him,

17 fear and terror of Assur his lord overwhelmed him and my yoke he took,

18 submission he made, 2,300 talents of silver, 20 talents of gold,

19 3,000 talents of copper, 5,000 talents of iron, clothing of wool and flax,

20 a couch of ivory, a chair of ivory, a high table, his goods and his furniture

21 without number in Damascus his royal city, in his palace I received.

From the time of Vul-nirari we know nothing of the affairs of Palestine until the time of Tiglath Pileser, B.C. 745-727.

The annals of Tiglath Pileser are very mutilated; and the fragments referring to Palestine are so detached, that it is difficult to determine their dates. The dates given here are only approximate calculations, and future discoveries may alter them considerably.

Extract XIII.

Probable date, B.C. 743-740.

Lines 1 to 8, list of conquered cities.

9 of Ma . . . . .

10 over him I appointed. Of Rezin king of Syria

11 18 talents of gold, 300 talents of silver, 200 talents of copper . . . . . .

12 20 talents of spices, 300 . . . . . I appointed. The tribute

13 of Kustaspi of Kummuha, Rezin of Syria . . . . . Hiram

14 of Tyre, Uriakki of Que . . . . . .

15 Pisiris of Carchemesh, Tarhulara of Gaugama, ... gold, silver, lead,

16 iron, skins of buffaloes, horns of buffaloes, blue . . . black . . . . clothing of wool and linen the productions of their countries numerous,

17 . . . . . instruments and weapons . . . . in the midst of the city of Arpad I received.

Extract XIV.

C. I., vol. iii., p. 9. No. 2.
Probable date, B.C. 738.

1 . . . . . course of my expedition the tribute of the kings

2 . . . . . Azariah of Judah like á . . . . . .

3 . . . . . Azariah of Judah in . . . . . .

4 . . . . . without number to high heaven were raised . . . . .

5 . . . . . in their eyes which as from heaven . . . . .

6 . . . . war and . . . . . .

7 . . . . of the great army of Assyria they heard and their hearts feared . . . . .

8 . . . their cities I pulled down, destroyed . . . . .

9 . . . . to Azariah turned and strengthened him, and . . .

10 . . . . like an arch . . . . . .

11 . . . . fighting . . . . . .

12 . . . . he closed his camp . . . . . .

13 . . . . were placed and his exit . . . . .

14 . . . . he brought down and . . . . . .

15 . . . . his soldiers he drew together to . . . .

16 . . . . made to surround them and . . . .

17 . . . . his great . . . . like . . . . . .

Extract XV.

C. I., vol. iii., p. 9. No. 3.
Probable date B.C. 738.

1 . . . . Judah . . . . . .

2 . . . . of Azariah my hand greatly captured . . . .

3 . . . . right . . . . . tribute like that of . . . . . .

4 . . . . . to his assistance the city of Ma . . . . . .

5 . . . . the cities of Uznu, Sihanu, Ma . . . ka . . . bu beside the sea, and the cities to Saua

6 the mountain which is in Lebanon were divided, the land of Bahalzephon to Ammana, the land of Kiska, and Saua, the whole of it, the district of Kar-rimmon.

7 Hadrach the district of Nuqudina, Hazu, and the cities of the whole of them, the city of Ara . . . cities helping them,

8 the cities of the whole of them the country of Sarbua, the mountain the whole of it, the cities Ashani and Yadabi, of Yaraqu, the mountain the whole of it.

9 the cities of . . . . . ri Ellitarbi and Zitanu, to the midst of the city Altimi . . . Bumami, 19 districts

10 of Hamath, and the cities which are round them, which are beside the sea of the setting sun in sin and defiance to Azariah had turned,

11 to the boundaries of Assyria I added, and my generals governors over them I appointed. 30,300 . . . . . .

12 . . . in their cities and the city of Ku . . . . . I caused to take. 1,223 people in the district of Ulluba I placed. The tribe of Qura . . . . .

13 . . . . . I took the road. The tribe of Qura . . . . across the river Zab to capture the Aklamiakkazi and the Gurumi . . . . .

14 . . . she and the Arameans who were beside the

river, their warriors they slew, their cities they captured, and their spoil they carried off . . . . . .

15 . . . she and the Arameans in great numbers came and a battle they made, and the Arameans his helpers they slew . . . .

16 . . . to save his life alone he fled, and ascended to the city Birtu of Kiniya. The city of Saragitu . . . . . .

17 and the cities which are round them they took. 12,000 of their people and children, their oxen and sheep, Dira . . .

18 to the land of the Hittites, to my presence they brought. My general the governor of Lulumi the city Mulugani . . . . . .

19 . . . Kuri-dannitu of the people of Babylon, and the cities which were round them he took, their warriors he slew . . . . . .

20 . . . . to the land of the Hittites to my presence they brought. My general the governor of Nahiri, the city of Sarbagillu

21 . . . . . and the cities which are round them he took, their spoil he carried off. Siqila the commander of the fortress

22 . . . . to the land of the Hittites to my presence he brought, 600 women of the city of Amlate of the Damuni, 5400 women of the city of Dur,

23 in the city of Kunalia . . . . . cities of Huzarra, Tae, Tarmanazi, Kulmadara, Hatarra, Sangillu,

24 in the country of Unqi I placed . . . . . women of Quti, Bethsangibuti; 1200 men of the tribe of Illil, 6208 men of the tribes of Nakkip and Buda,

25 . . . . cities of Zimarra, Arqa, Uznu, and Si-annu, which are beside the sea I placed. 588 men of the Buda and Duna

26 . . . 250 men of the Bela, 544 men of the Banita, 380 men of Sidu-ilu-ziri, 460 men of San-gillu,

27 . . . . men of the Illil, 457 women of the Quti and Bethsangibuti, in the district of Tuhimmi I placed 555

28 women of Quti and Bethsangibuti, in the city of Tul-garimi I placed, with the people of Assyria I joined them, and the performance of service like the Assyrians

29 I placed upon them. The tribute of Kustaspi of Kummuha, Rezin of Syria, Menahem of Samaria,

30 Hirom of Tyre, Sibitti-bahal of Gebal, Urikki of Que, Pisiris of Carchemesh, Eniel

31 of Hamath, Panamma of Samhala, Tarhulara of Gaugama, Sulumal of Milid, Dadilu

32 of Kaska, Vassurmi of Tubal, Ushitti of Tuna, Urpalla of Tuhana, Tuhammi of Istunda,

33 Urimmi of Husunna, and Zabibi queen of Arabia, gold, silver, lead, iron, skins of buffaloes, horns of buffaloes,

34 clothing of wool and linen, violet wool, purple wool, strong wood, weapon wood, female slaves (?) royal treasures, the skins of sheep, their fleece of

35 shining purple, birds of heaven the feathers of their wings of shining violet, horses, riding horses, oxen and sheep, camels

36 she-camels and young ones I received. (Here follows account of the 9th year, B.C. 737.)

Extract XVI.

Assyrian discoveries, p. 282.

Probable date B.C. 734-732.

1 . . . . his warriors I captured . . . . with the sword I destroyed

2 . . . . rusat . . . . luri . . . . before him

3 . . . . the charioteers and . . . . their arms I broke and

4 . . . . their horses I captured . . . . his warriors carrying bows,

5 . . . . bearing shields and spears, in hand I captured them, and their fighting

6 . . . . line of battle. He to save his life fled away alone and

7 . . . . like a deer, and into the great gate of his city he entered. His generals alive

8 in hand I captured, and on crosses I raised them. His country I subdued. 45 men of his camp

9 . . . . Damascus his city I besieged, and like a caged bird I enclosed him. His forests

10 . . . . the trees of which were without number, I cut down and I did not leave one.

11 . . . . Hadara the house of the father of Rezin of Syria

12 . . . . the city of Samalla I besieged, I captured, 800 people and children of them

13 . . . . their oxen their sheep I carried captive; 750 women of the city Kuruzza

14 . . . . the city Armai, 550 women of the city Mituna I carried captive, 591 cities

15 . . . . of 16 districts of Syria like a flood I swept

16 . . . . Samsi queen of Arabia who the oath of the sun-god had broken and . . . .

Extract XVII.

Assyrian discoveries, p. 283.

Probable date, B.C. 734-732.

3 of the city . . . . . .
4 of the city . . . . . districts of Beth-gu . . . .
5 of 16 districts of . . . . . .
6 women of . . . . bara, 625 women of the city . . . a . . .
7 226 women of the city of . . . . . .
8 women of the city of . . hinatuna, 650 women of the city of Qana
9 400 women of the city of . . . atbiti
10 656 women of the city of Sasi . . . . . making
11 13,520 women of . . . . . .
12 and their children . . . . . the cities Aruma and Marum . . . . .
13 the rugged mountains . . . . . .
14 Metinti of Azkelon in my service was wicked, and
15 with me revolted . . . . the defeat of Rezin
16 he saw, and in striking . . . .
17 his own fear overcame him and . . . . . he died (?)
18 Rukiptu his son sat in his throne, to . . . .
19 he raised and prayed (?) 500 . . . .
20 and to his city he entered. 15 cities . . . .
21 Idibihilu the Arabian . . . .

Extract XVIII.

Assyrian discoveries, p. 284.

General summary, B.C. 740 to 730.

1 . . . . the city Hadrach to the land of Saua.
2 . . . . the cities Zimirra, Arqa and Zimarra
3 . . . . the cities Uznu, Sihanu, Rihisuza
4 . . . the cities beside the upper sea I possessed, six of my generals
5 as governors over them I appointed . . . asbuna which is beside the upper sea
6 the cities . . . . niti, Galhi . . . . Abel [-beth-Maacha] which is the boundary of the land of Beth Omri
7 . . . . li wide the whole of it to the borders of Assyria I joined,
8 my generals, governors over them I appointed. Hanun of Gaza
9 who before the face of my soldiers fled, and to Egypt got away; Gaza
10 I captured . . . his furniture, his gods . . . . and my royal couch
11 . . . within his palace . . . . their gods I distributed and
12 . . . I fixed them . . . . him like a bird
13 . . . . to his place I restored him
14 . . . . gold silver, clothing of wool and linen
15 . . . great . . . I received. The land of Beth Omri
16 . . . illut the tribe . . . the goods of its people
17 and their furniture I sent to Assyria. Pekah their king . . . and Hoshea

18 to the kingdom over them I appointed . . . . their tribute I received and . . . .

19 to Assyria I sent.

Extract XIX.

Assyrian discoveries, p. 286.

Probable date B.C. 734 to 730.

17 . . . whom in my former campaigns all their cities I had reduced,

18 . . . his helpers, Samaria alone I left. Pekah their king . . . .

Extract XX.

C. I., vol. ii., p. 67.

Probable date B.C. 732.

57 The tribute of Kustaspi of Kumuha, Urik of Que, Sibitti-bahal of Gubal, Pisiris of Carchemesh,

58 Eniel of Hamath, Panammu of Samhala, Tarhulara of Gaugama, Sulumal of Milid, Dadilu of Kaska,

59 Vassurmi of Tubal, Ushitti of Tuna, Urpalla of Tuhana, Tuhammi of Istunda, Urimmi of Husinna

60 Mattan-bahal of Arvad Sanipu of Beth-ammon Salamanu of Moab . . . .

61 Metinti of Askelon, Jehoahaz of Judah, Chemoshmelek of Edom, Muz . . . .

62 Hanun of Gaza, gold, silver, lead, iron, antimony, clothing the clothing of their countries, lapis-lazuli (?) . . . .

63 . . . produce of the sea and land, taken from their countries selected for my kingdom, horses and asses trained to the yoke . . . . . .

Reign of Sargon.

Extract XXI.

B.C. 722. *Annals of Sargon.*

11 . . . . . Samaria . . . . .

12, 13 . . . . . .

14 . . . . Samas causer to overcome my enemies . . . .

15 . . . I carried off, 50 chariots, my royal portion, from among them . . . .

16 . . . I restored and beyond what was before I settled. People the conquest of my hands . . . .

17 . . . tribute the same as that of the Assyrians I fixed upon them.

Extract XXII.

B.C. 722 (?) (*Fastes of Oppert*, l. 23 to 25).

23 Samaria I besieged, I captured,

24 27,290 people dwelling in the midst of it I carried captive, 50 chariots from among them I selected, and the rest of them I distributed. My general over them I appointed, and the taxes of the former king,

25 I fixed on them.

Extract XXIII.

B.C. 720. *Annals of Sargon*, lines 36 to 57.

36 In my second year Ilu-bihid . . . .

37 . . . . wide in Aroer caused to rebel and . . .

38 . . . . Damascus, Samaria, ...

39 to 52 . . . . .

53 . . . accomplished and Sibahki . . . to his aid with him make battle

54 and war to my presence came. In the name of Assur my lord their overthrow I struck, and

55 Sibahki the ruler, who had slight courage, fled away alone and got off.

56 Hanun in hand I captured, and his family to my city Assur I sent.

57 Raphia I pulled down, destroyed, in the fire I burned, 20,033 people and their abundant goods I carried captive.

Extract XXIV.

B.C. 720. *Fastes*, l. 25 and 26.

25 Hanun king of Gaza, with Sibahe general of Egypt, in Raphia to make battle and war to my presence came.

26 Their overthrow I struck. Sibahe the attack of my soldiers avoided, fled away, and his place could not be seen. Hanun king of Gaza in hand I captured.

Extract XXV.

Fastes, l. 33 to 36.

33 Yahu-bihid of Hamath a soldier (?) not heir to the throne, a man extremely wicked, to the kingdom of Hamath his heart aspired, and Arpad, Zimirra, Damascus, and Samaria,

34 against me he caused to revolt, and of one mouth he caused them to be, and he prepared to fight. The great army of Assur I gathered and in Aroer the city of his choice, himself and his army

35 I besieged and captured. Aroer in the fire I burned, of him his skin I flayed off, in their cities the leaders of rebellion I slew, and reduced them to desolation. 200 chariots and 600 carriage horses,

36 from the midst of the people of Hamath I selected, and to my kingdom I added.

Extract XXVI. Cyprus monolith.

B.C. 720.

51 The land of Hamath to its extreme limit
52 like a flood I swept.
53 Yahu-bihid king of them,
54 and his family, and his warriors,
55 the spoil of his country, the whole of it,
56 to Assyria I brought.
57 300 chariots and 600 carriage horses,
58 those carrying shields and spears,
59 from among them I selected.
60 Over the garrisons of my kingdom I spread.
61 4,300 Assyrians . . . .
62 in the midst of Hamath I settled,
63 my general as governor
64 over them I appointed, and taxes and tribute
65 I fixed upon them.

Extract XXVII. K. 1349.

B.C. 720.

17 . . . . . Ilu . . . .

18 the Hamathite, not heir to the throne, not coming out of the palace, on the government of the people his aspirations . . . . .

19 to the god Assur his country and his people, evil, and not good sought, and removed the . . . .

20 Arpad and Samaria he gathered and to his side he turned . . . . . .

21 . . . he then at once was struck and life not . . . . .

22 . . . my hand I raised to conquer the land of Hamath . . . .

23 . . . the land of the west the whole of it I received and Assur the god . . . .

24 . . . heard and took my supplications thus . .

25 . . . . the west, I will cause thee to take the land of Hamath . . .

26 . . . . the opening of the knowledge and will of . . . . .

27 . . . . the west to my feet he caused to subjugate . . . .

28 to my city Assur I brought, and those who the might . . . .

29 went to my aid.

Extract XXVIII.

Khorsabad Salle II. 11, l. 3 to 8.

B.C. 715.

3 The Tamudu, Ibadidi,

4 Marsimani and Hayapa, remote tribes of Arabians dwelling in the land of Bari, whom the Aklu and Sapiru knew not of, and

5 who to any of our kings their taxes had not brought; in the service of Assur my lord I destroyed them, and the rest of them I removed, and

6 in the city of Samaria I placed them. Of Pharaoh king of Egypt, Samsi queen of Arabia and Itamar the Sabean

7 kings who dwell by the sea and the land of . . . . gold . . . . . precious stones, ivory, ... wood, spices, all . . . . . horses and camels their tribute I received.

Extract XXIX.

C.I., vol. i., p. 36, l. 20.

B.C. 715.

20 Conqueror of the Tamudu, Ibadidi, Marsimani, and Hayapa, who the rest of them enslaved, and caused them to be placed in the land of Beth Omri.

Extract XXX.

Assyrian Discoveries, p. 289-292.

B.C. 711.[1]

From Kouyunjik Cylinder and Khorsabad Text.

1 In my ninth year to the land beside
2 the great sea to Philistia and
3 Ashdod I went.
4 Azuri king of Ashdod not to bring tribute
5 his heart hardened, and to the kings round him,
6 enemies of Assyria, he sent and did evil.
7 Over the people round him his dominion I broke
8 and carried off . . . .
9 From that time . . . .
10 Ahimite son of . . . .
11 his brother before his face over his kingdom
12 I raised and appointed him.
13 Taxes and tribute to Assyria
14 like those of the kings round him
15 over him I appointed. But the people
16 evil, not to bring taxes and tribute
17 their heart hardened and . . . .
18 their king they revolted against,
19 and for the good he had done

[1] The annals of Sargon give this expedition under the eleventh year of the king.

20 they drove him away and . . . .
21 Yavan not heir to the throne,
22 to the kingdom over them they appointed. In the throne
23 of their lord they seated him
24 and their cities they prepared
25 to make war . . . .
26 the dominion . . . .
27 against capture they fortified
28 its . . . . they faced . . . .
29 and round it a ditch they excavated,
30 twenty cubits (34 feet) in its depth they made it,
31 and they brought the waters of the springs in front of the city.
32 The people of Philistia, Judah, Edom,
33 and Moab, dwelling beside the sea, bringing tribute
34 and presents to Assur my lord
35 were speaking treason. The people and their evil chiefs
36 to fight against me unto Pharaoh
37 king of Egypt, a monarch who could not save them,
38 their presents carried and besought his
39 alliance. I, Sargon, the noble prince
40 revering the oath of Assur and Merodach, guarding
41 the honour of Assur; the rivers Tigris and Euphrates
42 in their full flood my warriors of my guard
43 entirely I passed over. And he Yavan
44 their king, who in his own might

45 trusted, and did not submit to my dominion,
46 of the advance of my expedition to the land of the Hittites heard, and
47 the majesty of Assur my lord overwhelmed him, and
48 to the border of Egypt, the shore of the river,
49 at the boundary of Meroe . . . under the waters
50 . . . . . he took part
51 . . . . a place remote
52 . . . . he fled away
53 and his hiding place was not seen. The cities of Ashdod and

(*Continued from* Botta.)

54 Gimzo of the Ashdodites
55 I besieged and captured. His gods, his wife, his sons, and his daughters,
56 his furniture, his goods, and the treasures of his palace, with the people of his country
57 as a spoil I counted, and those cities a second time
58 I built. People the conquests of my hands
59 from the midst of the countries of the rising sun, within them I seated; and with the people of Assyria I placed them, and they performed my pleasure.

Extract XXXI.

Assyrian Discoveries, p. 302 to 306.

B.C. 701.

Cylinder C, Sennacherib, Col. III.

1 In my third expedition to the land of the Hittites I went.
2 Elulias king of Zidon,

3 fear of the might of my dominion overwhelmed him, and
4 to a distance in the midst of the sea
5 he fled, and his country I took.
6 Great Zidon,
7 Lesser Zidon,
8 Bit-sette, Zarephath,
9 Mahalliba, Hosah,
10 Achzid, and Accho,
11 his strong cities, fortresses, walled
12 and enclosed, his castles; the might of the soldiers
13 of Assur my lord overwhelmed them, and they submitted
14 to my feet. Tubahal in the throne of the kingdom
15 over them I seated, and taxes and tribute to my dominion
16 yearly, unceasing, I fixed upon him.
17 Of Menahem of Samaria
18 Tubaḫal of Zidon
19 Abdilihiti of Arvad,
20 Urumelek of Gubal,
21 Metinti of Ashdod,
22 Buduil of Beth Ammon,
23 Kemoshnatbi of Moab,
24 Airammu of Edom,
25 kings of the Hittites, all of them of the coast,
26 the whole, their great presents and furniture,
27 to my presence they carried, and kissed my feet.
28 And Zidqa king of Askelon,

29 who did not submit to my yoke; the gods of the house of his father, himself,
30 his wife, his sons, his daughters, and his brothers, the seed of the house of his father,
31 I removed, and to Assyria I sent him.
32 Sarludari son of Rukibti their former king,
33 over the people of Askelon I appointed,
34 and the gift of taxes due to my dominion,
35 I fixed on him, and he performed my pleasure.
36 In the course of my expedition, Beth Dagon, Joppa,
37 Bene-berak and Azor,
38 cities of Zidqa,
39 which to my feet homage did not render,
40 I besieged I captured I carried off their spoil.
41 The priests, princes, and people of Ekron,
42 who Padi their king, faithful
43 and stedfast to Assyria, in bonds of iron
44 placed and to Hezekiah
45 king of Judah gave him as an enemy;
46 for the evil they did their hearts feared.
47 The kings of Egypt, and the archers,
48 chariots, and horses, of the king of Meroe,
49 a force without number gathered and
50 came to their help.
51 In the vicinity of Eltekeh,
52 before me their lines were placed,
53 and they urged on their soldiers.
54 In the service of Assur my lord with them
55 I fought, and I accomplished their overthrow.
56 The charioteers and sons of the kings of Egypt,
57 and the charioteers of the king of Meroe,

58 alive in the midst of the battle my hand captured.
59 Eltekeh and Timnah I besieged, I captured,
60 I carried off their spoil. To Ekron
61 I approached; the priests and princes,
62 who the rebellion had made with the sword I slew,
63 and in heaps over the whole of the city I threw down their bodies.
64 The sons of the city committing sin, and the revilers
65 into slavery I gave; the rest of them
66 not making rebellion and defiance,
67 who of their section were not,

Column IV.

1 their innocence I proclaimed. Padi their king
2 from the midst of Jerusalem
3 I brought out, and on the throne of dominion
4 over them I seated, and tribute
5 to my dominion I fixed upon him.
6 And Hezekiah of Judah,
7 who did not submit to my yoke,
8 46 of his strong cities, fortresses, and small cities,
9 which were round them, which were without number,
10 with the marching of a host, and surrounding of a multitude,
11 attack of ranks, force of battering-rams, mining and missiles,
12 I besieged, I captured. 200,150 people, small and great, male and female,

13 horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen,
14 and sheep, which were without number, from the midst of them I brought out, and
15 as spoil I counted. Him like a caged bird within Jerusalem
16 his royal city I had made, towers round him
17 I raised, and the exit of the great gate of his city I shut, and
18 he was conquered. His cities which I spoiled, from the midst of his country
19 I detached, to Metinti king of Ashdod,
20 Padi king of Ekron, and Zilli-bel
21 king of Gaza, I gave, and I reduced his country.
22 Beside their former taxes, their annual gift
23 the tribute due to my dominion, I added and
24 fixed upon them. He, Hezekiah,
25 fear of the might of my dominion overwhelmed him, and
26 the Urbi and his good soldiers
27 whom to be preserved within Jerusalem
28 he had caused to enter, and they inclined
29 to submission, with 30 talents of gold,
30 800 talents of silver, precious carbuncles,
31 daggasi, great . . . . stones
32 couches of ivory, elevated thrones of ivory,
33 skins of buffaloes, horns of buffaloes, izdan, weapons,
34 everything, a great treasure, and
35 his daughters, the eunuchs of his palace, male musicians, and female musicians,
36 to the midst of Nineveh the city of my dominion
37 after me he sent, and

38 to give tribute
39 and make submission he sent his messenger.

Extract XXXII.

Bull Inscription, 2 and 3, lines 17 to 22.

B.C. 701.

17 And Elulias king of Zidon retreated from my attack; to Cyprus,
18 which is in the midst of the sea, he fled, and sought refuge in that country.
19 By the might of the soldiers of Assur my lord, I took possession of his country. Tubahal on the throne
20 of his kingdom I seated, and tribute to my dominion I fixed upon him. I subdued
21 the extent of the district of Judah, powerful, and rugged. Hezekiah its king, I subjected
22 to my yoke.

Extract XXXIII.

Memorial Tablet, lines 13 to 15.

13 Of Elulias king of Zidon, I took away his kingdom;
14 Tubahal in his throne I seated, and tribute to my dominion I fixed upon him.
15 I subdued the extent of the district of Judah. Hezekiah its king set up my pleasure.

Extract XXXIV.

From broken Memorial Tablet. Fragment of war in Palestine.

Probable date between B.C. 694 and 690.

1 . . . . . marching of a host . . . . .

2 . . . . . their great tribute . . . . .
3 . . . . . they brought. Kapanu . . . . .
4 . . . . . place of her treasures . . . . .
5 . . . . . queen of Arabia and her gods . . . . .
6 . . . . . earrings, stones . . . . .
7 . . . . . spices abundant . . . . .
8 . . . . . and kings, eyes of . . . .
9 . . . . . carried off those cities . . . . .

Extract XXXV.

Cylinder of Esarhaddon.

Probable date between B.C. 694 and 690.

a. Edom the strong city of Arabia,
b. which Sennacherib king of Assyria,
c. the father my begetter, had captured
d. . . . . . his goods and his gods
e. had carried off to Assyria.

Extract XXXVI.

Probable date B.C. 680.

Cylinder of Esarhaddon, Col. I.

9 conqueror of the city of Zidon which is in the midst of the sea
10 sweeper away of all its cities
11 its castles and its dwellings I removed, and
12 into the sea I cast, and
13 the place of its habitations I destroyed.
14 Abdi-milkutti king of it,
15 who from the face of my soldiers
16 in the midst of the sea had fled,
17 like a fish from the midst of the sea
18 I caught him and cut off his head.

19 The collection of his goods, gold, silver, precious stones,
20 skins of buffaloes, horns of buffaloes, izdan, weapons,
21 dresses woven and dyed, all of them
22 the treasure of his palace
23 in abundance I carried off.
24 The whole of his people without number,
25 oxen, and sheep, asses,
26 I took away to the midst of Assyria.
27 I gathered also the kings of the Hittites,
28 and of the side of the sea all of them.
29 The former city I changed, a city I caused to build,
30 the city of Ḳsarhaddon I called its name.
31 People the conquest of my bow from the lands
32 and sea of the rising sun
33 in the midst I placed and
34 my general governor over them I appointed.

---

35 And Sanduarri
36 king of Kundi and Sizu
37 the obstinate rebel who did not fear my power,
38 who abandoned the gods and
39 to his difficult mountains trusted
40 and Abdi-milkutti
41 to his aid he brought, and
42 the names of the great gods to each other they swore and
43 to their power trusted:
44 I to Assur my lord trusted, and
45 like a bird from the midst of the mountains

46 I caught him, and cut off his head.
47 By the power of Assur my lord
48 the people
49 the heads of Sandùarri
50 and Abdi-milkutti
51 round the necks of their great men I hung, and
52 with musicians and singers (?)
53 into the vicinity of Nineveh I came.

Extract XXXVII.

From broken Cylinder of Esarhaddon.

C. I., Vol. III. p. 16. Probable date, B.C. 680.

12 I gathered also the kings of the Hittites and of over the sea,
13 Bahal king of Tyre, Manasseh king of Judah,
14 Qavus-gabri king of Edom, Muzuri king of Moab,
15 Zilli-bel king of Gaza, Mitinti king of Aṣkelon,
16 Ikasamsu king of Ekron, Milki-asaph king of Gebal,
17 Matan-bahal king of Arvad, Albi-bahal king of Samaria,
18 Buduil king of Beth-ammon, Ahimelek king of Ashdod,
19 twelve kings who are by the shore of the sea, Ægistus king of Idalium,
20 Pythagoras king of Kitrusi, Kinyras (?) king of Salamis,
21 Ituander king of Paphos, Eresu king of Soli,
22 Damastes king of Curium, Garmisu king of Tamissus,
23 Damusi king of Ammochosta,

24 Unasagusu king of Lidini, Puzusu king of Aphrodisia,

25 ten kings of Yatnan (Cyprus) in the midst of the sea,

26 making twenty-two kings of the Hittites beside the sea and in the midst of the sea; all of them

27 I sent to them.

Extract XXXVIII.

From Tablet of Esarhaddon.

Probable date between B.C. 680 and 673.

1 Were given the ships which Bahal and his people . . . . . who were in Philistia and in the neighbourhood

2 of the whole of Assyria . . . . . who were in the midst of the ships of Esarhaddon king of Assyria, he

3 and the people appointed who were in the midst of the ships, in the midst of them . . . . . their names . . . . .

---

4 These are the forts and roads which Esarhaddon king of Assyria to Bahal his servant appointed.

5 To the city of Accho and Dor, in the district of Philistia, all;

6 and in the cities of the neighbourhood of Assyria, by the side of the sea, all;

7 . . . . . the city Gebal, Lebanon, and the cities which were in the mountain, all;

8 . . . . . Esarhaddon king of Assyria, Bahal, servants . . . . .

9 . . . . . king of Assyria gave . . . . .

Extract XXXIX.

From unpublished fragment.

Probable date B.C. 673.

Tablet in bad condition, translation not literal.

1 Esarhaddon king of Assyria, his warriors and his camp war . . . . .

2 against the men of Egypt are going to fight, with Tarqu (Tirkahah)

3 king of Kush, and the soldiers who are with him fighting, battle and war are made.

4 In making fighting, battle and war, Esarhaddon king of Assyria, his forces

5 sends against Tarqu king of Kush, and the men his allies

6 . . . . . the ranks are set . . . . . the overthrow of

7 Tarqu he makes, glory and power . . . .

8 over him he gains. Esarhaddon king of Assyria, his life

7 . . . . flight of Tarqu . . . . he tramples . . .[1]

Extract XL.

Assyrian Discoveries, p. 312, 313.

Probable date, B.C. 672.

6 In my tenth expedition, the god . . . . .

7 I set my face to the country of Magan [and Miluhha (?)] . . . . .

8 which in the language of the people of Kush (Ethiopia) and Muzur (Egypt) are called . . . . .

9 I collected my powerful army, which within . . .

[1] Another very fragmentary copy says the battle took place in the district of Askelon in Philistia.

10 in the month Nisan the first month, from my city Assur I departed, the rivers Tigris and Euphrates in their flood I crossed over,

11 difficult countries like a bull I passed through.

12 In the course of my expedition against Bahal, king of Tyre, who to Tirhakah, king of Kush, his country entrusted, and

13 the yoke of Assur my lord threw off and made defiance;

14 fortresses over against him I built, and food and drink to save their lives, I cut off.

15 When for the land of Muzur (Egypt) my camp I collected, and to the country of Miluhha (Meroe) I directed the march,

16 30 kaspu of ground (200 miles) from the city of Aphek, which is at the border of Samaria, to the city of Raphia,

17 to the boundary of the stream of Muzur (Egypt), a place where there is no water, a very great desert.

18 Water from wells in buckets for my army I caused to carry.

19 When the will of Assur my lord into my ears entered . . . . . my mind.

20 The camels of the kings of Arabia all of them . . . . . them

21 30 kaspu of ground a journey of 15 days in . . . . . I pursued

22 4 kaspu of ground with boulder stones . . . . . I went

23 4 kaspu of ground a journey of two days, with serpents having two heads . . . . . death and

24 I trampled on and passed. 4 kaspu of ground a journey of two days . . . . . burning . . . . .

25 of winged flies. 4 kaspu of ground a journey of two days . . . . . full

26 15 kaspu of ground a journey of eight days I pursued . . . . . a journey.

27 Merodach the great lord to my aid came . . . .

28 and saved the lives of my soldiers. 27 days . . . . .

29 of the border of Egypt the city of Magan . . . .

30 From the city of Magan to . . . . .

31 a measure of 20 kaspu of ground I pursued . . . . .

32 that ground was like stone . . . . .

33 like fowl with maces . . . . .

34 blood and marrow . . . . .

35 the obstinate enemy to . . . . .

36 to the city it swept . . . . .

Extract XLI.

Cylinder C., Assurbanipal.

Probable date, B.C. 668.

1 To Egypt and Ethiopia I directed the march.

2 In the course of my expedition,

3 Bahal king of Tyre,

4 . . . . . king of Judah,

5 . . . . . king of Edom,

6 . . . . . king of Moab,

7 . . . . . king of Gaza,

8 . . . . . king of Askelon,

9 . . . . . king of Ekron,

10 . . . . . king of Gebal,

11 . . . . . king of Arvad,
12 to 17 lost.
18 Ituander king of Paphos,
19 Eresu king of Soli,
20 Damastes king of Curium,
21 Garmisu king of Tamissus,
22 Damusi king of Ammochosta,
23 Unasagus king of Lidini,
24 Puzuzu king of Aphrodisia,
25 making twenty-two kings
26 of the side of the sea, and the middle of the sea, all of them,
27 tributaries dependent on me,
28 to my presence came and kissed my feet.
29 Those kings, their . . .. . .
30 on sea and land their forts I took,
31 the level road . . . . . them.

The cylinder goes on to describe the course of the expedition against Egypt, the renewed expulsion of Tirhakah, and the restoration of Assyrian dominion there.

Extract XLII.

Cylinders of Assurbanipal.

Probable date, about B.C. 664.

84 In my third expedition against Bahal, king of Tyre,
85 dwelling in the midst of the sea, I went; who my royal will
86 disregarded, and did not hear the words of my lips.

87 Towers round him I raised, and over his people I strengthened the watch.

88 On sea and land his forts I took; his going out I stopped. Water and sea-water to preserve their lives, their mouths drank. By a strong blockade which removed not, I besieged them,

89 their work I checked and opposed,

90 to my yoke I made them submissive.

91 The daughter proceeding from his body, and the daughters of his brothers,

92 for concubines he brought to my presence.

93 Yahimilki his son, the glory of the country, of unsurpassed renown,

94 at once he sent forward, to make obeisance to me.

95 His daughter and the daughters of his brothers,

96 with their great dowries I received.

97 Favour I granted him and the son proceeding from his body

98 I restored and gave him.

Extract XLIII.

Cylinder A, Assurbanipal, Column VII.

Probable date about B.C. 648.

97 In my ninth expedition I gathered my army:

98 against Vaiteh king of Arabia,

99 I directed the march, who against my agreement

100 had sinned, the benefits done to him he did not regard, and

101 threw off the yoke of my dominion.

102 When Assur had set him up to perform my pleasure,
103 to seek my alliance his feet broke off, and
104 he ended his presents, and great tribute.
105 When Elam was speaking sedition with Akkad, he heard and
106 disregarded my agreement. Of me Assurbanipal
107 the king, the noble priest, the powerful leader,
108 the work of the hands of Assur, he left me, and
109 to Abiyateh and Aimu, sons of Tehari,
110 his forces with them to the help of
111 Saul-mugina my rebellious brother he sent, and
112 set his face. The people of Arabia
113 with him he caused to revolt, and carried away the
114 plunder of the people, whom Assur, Ishtar, and the great gods
115 had given me; their government I had ruled,
116 and they were in my hand.
117 By command of Assur and Ishtar my army in the regions
118 of Azaran, Hirataqaza,
119 in Edom, in the neighbourhood of Yabrud,
120 in Beth-ammon, in the district of Hauran,
121 in Moab, in Saharri,
122 in Harge, and in the district of Zobah,

Column VIII.

1 his numerous fighting men I slew without number, I accomplished
2 his overthrow. The people of Arabia, all who with him came,

3 I destroyed with the sword; and he from the face

4 of the powerful soldiers of Assur fled, and got away.

Extract XLIV.

Cylinder A. Assurbanipal. Col. VIII., l. 19 to 29.
Probable date about B.C. 648.

19 And he, Ammuladi king of Kedar,

20 brought to fight the kings of Syria;

21 whom Assur and Ishtar the great gods had entrusted to me.

22 In the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo,

23 Ishtar of Nineveh, Sarrat-kitmuri,

24 Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, and Nusku,

25 his overthrow I accomplished. Himself alive with Adiya

26 the wife of Vaiteh king of Arabia,

27 they captured and brought to my presence.

28 By command of the great gods my lords, with the dogs

29 I placed him, and I caused him to be kept chained.

Extract XLV.

Cylinder B. Assurbanipal. Col. VIII., l. 31-44.
Probable date about B.C. 648.

31 Ammuladin king of Kedar, who like him also

32 revolted and carried away the plunder of the kings of Syria.

33 In the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo,

34 Ishtar of Nineveh, Sarrat-Kitmuri,
35 Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, and Nusku;
36 by the power of my name, which Assur had magnified,
37 Kamazhalta king of Moab,
38 a tributary dependent on me,
39 in the battle-field accomplished his overthrow.
40 Ammuladin and the rest of his people,
41 who from the face of . . . . .
42 he captured in hand.
43 His hands and feet in bonds of iron he placed, and
44 to Nineveh to my presence he sent.

Extract XLVI.

Cylinder A, Assurbanipal. Col. IX. l., 96 to 108.

Probable date, B.C. 645.

96 On my return Hosah,
97 which by the side of the sea has its place, I captured.
98 The people of Hosah, who to their governors
99 were not reverent, and did not give the tribute,
100 the gift of their country, I slew. Amongst the people
101 unsubmissive, chastisement I inflicted.
102 Their gods and their people I carried off to Assyria.
103 The people of Accho unsubmissive I destroyed.
104 Their bodies in the dust I threw down, the whole of the city

105 I quieted. The rest of them I brought
106 to Assyria in rank I arranged, and
107 over my numerous army,
108 which Assur strengthened, I spread.

CHAPTER VII.

The Comparative Chronology of Assyria and Palestine.

I HAVE given in the former chapters the principal Assyrian materials bearing on the chronology of the period, from the time of Solomon to that of Josiah, and sketches of the principal chronological systems drawn from them. Those who wish to investigate the chronology of this period for themselves, and to form their own conclusions from translations of the original documents, will require nothing more, except, perhaps, some explanation of the texts and extracts as they stand. There is, however, a larger body of readers who do not wish to enter themselves into chronological discussions, and only desire to know what conclusions may fairly be drawn from the monuments, the extracts and translations being so many pieces of evidence to them in any case of doubt. Without some plan for the solution of these

chronological problems, the work would appear to these, my most numerous class of readers, incomplete; and even those who wish to found their own opinions on the evidence always desire to see the conclusions of other students. With these excuses I put forward the following comments and views, without any desire to attach too much weight to them. On most points they represent what appear to me as the true explanations and dates, but I cannot say I am certain even on the main points, and I hold myself ready to change all my conclusions, if satisfactory evidence should turn up against them. Caution in this matter appears to me all the more necessary from the difficulty in reconciling the Assyrian statements with those of the Bible, and the widely different views expressed by the best scholars who have investigated the subject.

The Assyrian eponym canon must be considered as a contemporary document. The earliest date in question in it is the date of the battle of Qarqar or Aroer, fought between the Syrian league under Benhadad, and the Assyrians under Shalmaneser II. (See Extracts I.-III., pp. 106-110.) The date of this event, according to the Assyrian canon, was B.C. 854, and the earliest known copies of the Assyrian canon were made in the reign of Sennacherib, about 150 years after this. Other copies were made afterwards, containing in every case the same dates, which do not vary a single year; these later copies adding to them the eponymes who had held office since the former ones were inscribed; thus the list was posted up from time to time, and served as a

skeleton national chronology. It is most probable that copies were made long before the reign of Sennacherib, but even if this was not the case, most of the events now in dispute happened so near to the time of the writers, that they, with the state documents at their command, could not help knowing their dates.

In the period subsequent to B.C. 731 the close correspondence of the Assyrian canon dates with those of Ptolemy's canon, the large number of contemporary dated tablets given in chap. IV., and the perfect agreement of the eponym canon with the contemporary annals of the successive Assyrian kings, all combine to prove incontestibly the truth of the record.

In the period from B.C. 763 to 731 the dated tablets are few, and the historical inscriptions rarer; but the annals of Tiglath Pileser prove the accuracy of the canon up to B.C. 745, and the eclipse of B.C. 763, equally confirms the next stage, so that up to that date there is no doubt of the truth of the list.

Above the date B.C. 763 there is no positive proof of any Assyrian canon date, but there is some evidence in the agreement of the successive names in the eponym list with those in the contemporary annals of Assurnazirpal and Shalmaneser, and in the fragments of Sennacherib mentioning the date B.C. 794 in the reign of Vulnirari; while the names of functionaries who appear more than once in the list, such as Assur-banai-uzur, the chief of the palace in B.C. 856, 826, and 817; Dayan-assur in B.C. 854 and 827; Musalim-ninip governor of Bele in B.C. 793

and 766; Ninip-kin-uzur, governor of Nineveh in B.C. 790 and 761, and Samsi-il, the tartan, in B.C. 780, 770, and 752, show, that no lapse of years of any extent unrepresented in the canon, can have happened in this period.

Looking at the imperfect state of our present knowledge of Assyrian history, the amount of evidence in favour of the accuracy of the Assyrian eponym canon appears to me remarkable and conclusive; and in the present state of the enquiry I see no reason for doubting that it is a correct chronological computation.

The first point of contact in the period of the canon, between the Assyrian and Hebrew histories, occurs in the eponymy of Dayan-assur, B.C. 854, when the annals of Shalmaneser mention a prince named Ahab (see Extract I.), and as the date of this event is more than forty years after the date of the death of Ahab king of Israel, according to the Bible chronology, this has given rise to several attempts to adjust the two histories so as to make them agree. One of the first in the field in this direction was Professor Oppert who holds the opinion that there is a break of forty-seven years in the eponym canon, between the eponym Nergal-nazir, B.C. 746, and the accession of Tiglath-Pileser, which he lowers to B.C. 744. He thus lowers all the later Assyrian dates one year, and raises the earlier ones forty-six years, identifying the eclipse in the eponymy of Esdu-sarabe, B.C. 763, with one which happened B.C. 809. In page 75 I have given my reasons for not agreeing with this theory, and for similar reasons

I have objected to other proposed gaps in the canon.

The Rev. D. H. Haigh (see page 5), proceeding on another plan, adds nineteen years between the reign of Shalmaneser and that of Samsi-vul, and on the other hand cuts down the reign of Manasseh, king of Judah from 55 to 35 years, thus altering both the Biblical and the Assyrian dates, this theory also I believe to be untenable.

Other scholars, like Bunsen, and Brandes, cut down the numbers in the Biblical history, but adhere to the Assyrian chronology.

I have already stated that I have faith in the accuracy of the Assyrian canon, I am therefore unable to follow Oppert and Haigh in their attempts to find a flaw in it; and although there are undoubtedly some errors in the numbers given in the Books of Kings, yet I believe that the Biblical chronology of the period following the death of Solomon, is in the main correct, or very nearly so; for this reason, I cannot agree with the school of Bunsen and Brandes, who reduce the Biblical dates by over forty years.

I would suggest instead of these chronological alterations, that some of the Biblical names in the Assyrian annals on which they are based, either do not refer to the kings supposed, or are errors on the part of the Assyrians. If we allow that the Ahab and Jehu mentioned in the Assyrian records may not be the Ahab and Jehu of the Bible, we are not under the necessity of altering the chronology of either nation in order to make the Assyrian notices fit the time of the Hebrew monarchs.

Taking the Assyrian and Biblical chronologies as they stand, and examining the various dates in detail, it is best to commence with the later dates which are well established, and to advance to the earlier ones which are more doubtful.

Before proceeding to this examination, it will be convenient to give, in a tabular form, my own view of the dates of the accession of the Hebrew kings according to the Bible, as there will be constant references to these dates in subsequent parts of the chapter. In common with several other chronologists, I read 51 years instead of 41 for the reign of Jeroboam II., and 30 instead of 20 for the reign of Pekah, but this makes no difference to the general scheme of chronology, which varies very little from the chronology of Ussher in the margins of our Bible.

B.C.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
981	Rehoboam	Jeroboam
963	Abijam	
960	Asa	
959	. . . .	Nadab
958	. . . .	Baasha
934	. . . .	Elah
933	. . . .	Omri
921	. . . .	Ahab
919	Jehoshaphat	
899	. . . .	Ahaziah
897	. . . .	Jehoram

B.C.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
894	Jehoram	
886	Ahaziah	
885	Athaliah	Jehu
879	Jehoash	
857	. . . .	Jehoahaz
840	. . . .	Jehoash
839	Amaziah	
824	. . . .	Jeroboam
810	Uzziah . . .	
773	. . . .	Zachariah
772	. . . .	Menahem
761	. . . .	Pekahiah
759	. . . .	Pekah
758	Jotham	
742	Ahaz	
729	. . . .	Hoshea
726	Hezekiah	
720	. . . .	capture of Samaria
697	Manasseh	
673	. . . .	final captivity of Israel.
642	Amon	
640	Josiah	
609	Jehoiakim	
598	Jehoiachin and Zedekiah	
587	end of monarchy	
536	1st year of Cyrus; return from captivity.	

There is a doubt in my own mind whether all these dates should not be raised one or two years; there appears in several places a latitude to this extent in the evidence.

The centre point where Greek and Oriental chronology meet is the capture of Babylon by the Medes and Persians under Cyrus. Our best authority, the canon of Ptolemy, places the first year of Cyrus B.C. 538, which would indicate the previous year, B.C. 539, as the date of the capture of Babylon and the fall of the Babylonian monarchy.

The subsequent history and chronology are given by so many authorities and are so well fixed that only one professed chronologist ventures to object to them. Mr. Bosanquet, ignoring the testimony of all ancient authorities and inscriptions, brings down the Babylonian monarchy into the reign of Darius Hystaspes.

Ancient testimony and modern research are however so clear upon the subject, that no discussion on this point is necessary here.

The Book of Daniel states, that after the conquest of Babylon, a monarch named Darius, the Mede, took the kingdom previous to the reign of Cyrus. This Darius has not been identified with any prince known to history, and his reign has been supposed to have been short, not exceeding two years; this would reduce the accession of Cyrus, as king of Babylon, to B.C. 537, his first year, in which the Jews were released from captivity, falling in B.C. 536. Ptolemy's canon omits the reign of Darius, and gives the whole period from the capture of Babylon to the accession of Cambyses to Cyrus.

One of the tablets of the reign of Cyrus illustrates the custom of the Assyrians and Babylonians in reckoning the regnal years of their kings from the beginning of their new years, and not from the anniversary of the monarch's accession. The passage in the tablet in question reads:

"From the month Nisan (the first month) of the third year of Cyrus, king of countries, to the month Adar (the twelfth month) of the third year of Cyrus king of countries."

Previous to the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, there reigned over the Babylonians, Nabu-nahid, or Nabonidus, for seventeen years, his reign commencing B.C. 556. Late in his reign he associated with himself on the throne his son, Bel-sar-uzur, the Belshazzar of the Book of Daniel, who was slain on the night of the capture of Babylon, B.C. 539.

Previous to the reign of Nabonidus, the canon of Ptolemy, omitting a short reign of nine months, inserts the name of Neriglissar, or Nergalsharezer, the son-in-law of Nebuchadnezzar, whose first year was B.C. 559, and his accession 560. The predecessor of Nergalsharezer was Evilmerodach, son of Nebuchadnezzar, who ascended the Babylonian throne B.C. 562.

The accession of Evilmerodach is stated in 2 Kings 25. 27, to have happened in the thirty-seventh year of the captivity of Jehoiachin king of Judah, this captivity being thus fixed at B.C. 598. The captivity of Jehoiachin took place seven years after the battle of Carchemesh, and accession of Nebuchadnezzar; these events consequently be-

longing to B.C. 605. There is a slight difference of opinion among chronologists as to the date of the battle of Carchemesh, which was fought between the forces of Pharaoh Necho and the Babylonians under Nebuchadnezzar. Mr. Sharp and Ernest de Bunsen place it B.C. 607; Professors Oppert and Lenormant in B.C. 606; whilst most other chronologists make it happen B.C. 605. At present there is really no proof as to which of these is the correct date, but the difference between scholars here, is at the most two years. I have chosen the date B.C. 605, as it appears to fit best the other dates and circumstances mentioned, and is followed by the majority of chronologists.

The next date in question previous to the battle of Carchemesh, is the date of the fall of Nineveh. This date however does not much affect the general chronological question, and there is some variety of opinion with respect to it. It is placed as low as B.C. 606 by Professor Oppert, and as high as 609 by others; here again we have no means of determining exactly the date, but the circumstances are related as follows:

An arrangement was made between the king of Media, called in Berosus, Astyages, but by other authors Cyaxares, and Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, according to which Amuhia, or Amytis, the daughter of the Median monarch, was married to Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabopolassar, and the Babylonian and Median kings joined their forces in an attack against Nineveh. Nineveh was besieged by the Babylonian and Median armies for two years,

and at the end of that time, part of the wall of the city being destroyed by the overflow of the river, the king of Assyria, in despair, set fire to his palace and perished in the flames.

The destruction of Nineveh is connected with Jewish chronology through the action of Necho king of Egypt, who marched out to take part in the final war against Assyria. Josiah king of Judah resisted the passage of Necho through his territory, and in a battle at Megiddo, Josiah was slain (see 2 Kings 23. 29, and 2 Chron. 35. 22-24). The advance of Necho and death of Josiah happened four years before the battle of Carchemesh; and there is the same difference of two years as to this date among chronologists, some placing the death of Josiah in B.C. 611, others in B.C. 610, and others in B.C. 609, which last date I believe to be the correct one.

In the period immediately before these events Western Asia was exposed to the ravages of hordes of Scythians, who passing the mountains of Caucasus, overran Media, Assyria, and Syria. The date of the Scythian invasion is unknown, and the chronology of this period very confused. No Assyrian date can be fixed with any certainty after the date of the accession of Nabu-pal-uzur or Nabopolassar at Babylon in B.C. 626; and this event appears to have closely followed the death of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria.

In the whole of this period Assyrian chronological evidence is entirely wanting, for although the later eponymes, whose names I have given in pp. 70, 71, belong to the period from B.C. 643 to 610, and probably extend to near its close, yet the order of the

names is uncertain, and no political events are fixed to their eponymes.

The next date in order in the list is the accession of Josiah king of Judah, which I fix at B.C. 640. This date is generally agreed upon; only a few chronologists differ to the extent of one year, placing it at B.C. 641.

Probably about this time happened an Assyrian campaign in Palestine, the account of which is now lost. In p. 96 I have given a late date in the reign of Assurbanipal, in the eponymy of Belsadua of Tyre, apparently an Assyrian governor appointed after some conquest of the city. I have placed this date provisionally under the year B.C. 648, but it more probably belongs to another eponymy some years later.

The evidence of the Assyrian inscriptions and of the eponym canon ends with the eponymy of Samasdainani, governor of Babylon, which I have provisionally placed B.C. 644; this eponymy may, however, have been a little later. In the time of Assurdainani the last known record of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, was written, and we obtain a good approximate idea of the chronology of the reign down to this point. I arrange the events of this period as follows:

B.C.

668 Death of Esarhaddon, Assurbanipal re-conquers Egypt.

667 Revolt in Egypt under Tirhakah and Nechö. Necho captured and sent to Nineveh. Death of Tirhakah. Undamane, son-in-law of Tirhakah, recovers Egypt.

666 Assurbanipal expels Undamane from Egypt.

665-661 Siege of Tyre.

660 Submission of Arvad, Tubal, and Lydia, to Assurbanipal.

659 Conquest of Karbat.

658 Invasion of Minni.

657 Submission of Minni.

656 Invasion of Media.

655 Urtaki, king of Elam, driven out of Babylonia.

654 Death of Urtaki, flight of Elamite princes to Assyria.

653 Assurbanipal conquers Elam.

652 Conquest of Gambuli.

650 Revolt of Babylonia under Saulmugina.

649 War in Babylonia.

648 Conquest of Babylonia, death of Saulmugina.

647 Second invasion of Elam.

646 Third invasion of Elam.

645 War with the Arabians.

Excepting the dates of the death of Esarhaddon, B.C. 668, and the war with Babylon, B.C. 650-648, all these dates are only conjectural, and the events may cover a longer period.

All these dates fall within the reign of Manasseh, king of Judah, who died B.C. 642, two years before the accession of his grandson, Josiah. Chronologists are generally agreed as to the date of the death of Manasseh; some, however, place it one year earlier, in B.C. 643; and one, Brandes, makes it B.C. 641.

The Extracts, XLIII. to XLVI., p. 145 to 149, from the historical inscription of Assurbanipal, belong to the period B.C. 650 to 645, during which time part of

Palestine was overrun by the forces of Vaiteh, king of Arabia.

The Extract XLII., p. 144, from the same documents, relates the successful siege of Tyre and the submission of Arvad to Assurbanipal; it belongs to about B.C. 663 to 659.

The Extract XLI., p. 143, from Cylinder C., relates the tribute and submission of all the kings of Palestine and Cyprus to Assurbanipal, on the occasion of his first expedition to Egypt, about B.C. 668. Among these names was that of the king of Judah, undoubtedly Manasseh, who was a faithful vassal of Assyria at this time.

Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, was the successor of Esarhaddon, whose reign began in B.C. 681, and ended in B.C. 668.

In my history of Assurbanipal, I pointed out that before his death Esarhaddon associated him on the throne, but I then supposed it was shortly before his decease. In *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 417, I showed that Assurbanipal was reigning for three or four years, at least, with his father, and I am now able to prove, that the act of crowning the young prince, took place before Esarhaddon started for Egypt. Previous to this no Assyrian king had gone beyond Palestine, and it was probably considered an expedition of considerable risk, when Esarhaddon started to attack Tirhakah, and to expel him from Egypt. Tirhakah had already contended on nearly equal terms with Sennacherib, and had now stripped Assyria of her Western provinces. Under these circumstances, Esarhaddon settled the succession to

the crown, before his departure; and this is stated, with some marvellous incidents, in an address from one of his courtiers, K 2701:

1 The god Assur in a dream, to the grandfather of the king my lord, the just prince . . . . . .

2 the king, the lord of kings, the heart of hearts (grandson) of the just prince . . . . . .

3 thou shalt restore the wisdom of the deep, and all the people . . . . . .

4 When the father of the king my lord, to the land of Egypt went,

5 into the plantations of Harran, the dwelling of the god of cedar wood, he turned,

6 and the moon over the corn fields stood, having two crowns on his head (*i.e.*, with double halo round it.),

7 while Nusku stood at his side. The father of the king my lord entered, and

8 the crown on his (Assurbanipal's) head he placed, and the government of the countries (he gave him),

9 and when the road to Egypt he took, the blessing of the countries (followed him).

It appears from this, that the double halo seen round the moon, was interpreted on the principle of its representing two kings, in favour of the coronation of Assurbanipal, who assumed the government from the time when his father left for Egypt, probably in B.C. 673. As a matter of fact, however, Esarhaddon was in this probably only yielding to the desire of the Assyrian people, in settling the succession before leaving on a dangerous expedition, as a

few years previously they had seen a deplorable civil war between the sons of Sennacherib, on the death of that monarch.

The extracts from the Assyrian annals belonging to this reign refer to three epochs:

1. The period at the beginning of his reign, when Esarhaddon attacked and conquered Zidon, and took tribute from the kings of Palestine and Cyprus, B.C. 680 (Extracts XXXVI., XXXVII.).

2. The period subsequent to this: when Bahal, king of Tyre, was faithful to Assyria (Extract XXXVIII.).

3. B.C. 673 and 672, when Esarhaddon attacked Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, and Bahal, king of Tyre, who had revolted and relied for assistance upon Tirhakah (Extracts XXXIX., XL.).

The name of Manasseh, king of Judah, occurs among the tributaries of Esarhaddon after the capture of Zidon, B.C. 680, yet two of the chronologists, whose systems I have quoted in Chapter I., make his accession later than this event: Haigh in B. C. 677, and Bosanquet in B.C. 673. The Bible, both in Kings and Chronicles, gives Manasseh a reign of fifty-five years; and as he died B.C. 642, his accession must have taken place in B.C. 697. He thus reigned during the latter part of the reign of Sennacherib, the whole of that of Esarhaddon, and part of that of Assurbanipal. According to 2 Chron. 23. 11-13 a king of Assyria sent and carried Manasseh captive to Babylon, and after being a short time in captivity he was restored to his kingdom. Now of these three Assyrian kings contemporary with Manasseh, king of

Judah, only one, Esarhaddon, resided at Babylon; and ancient testimony and modern opinion are entirely in favour of the view, that it was he who conquered Palestine and Egypt, and carried captive the remnant of the ten tribes, and Manasseh, king of Judah.

The chronology of the reign of Esarhaddon here given, will show the date and position of these events.

B.C. 681 Civil war between Esarhaddon and his brothers. Esarhaddon defeats them at Hanirabbat and takes the throne.

B.C. 680 Conquest of Chaldea and of Abdimilkutti king of Zidon; tribute from the kings of Palestine and Cyprus, including Manasseh, king of Judah.

B.C. 679 Defeat of a tribe of Cimmerians in Hupuskia (N.W. of Assyria).

B.C. 678 Conquest of Cilicia.

B.C. 677 Conquest of Telassar, Asguza, and Minni.

B.C. 676 Punishment of the Dakkuri, a Chaldean tribe.

B.C. 675 Invasion of Arabia.

B.C. 674 Submission of Median chiefs, and of Belbasa the Gambulian.

B.C. 673 Tirhakah having made the whole of Palestine revolt, Esarhaddon marched against him, defeated his forces in Philistia, carried into captivity the remnant of Israel, sent Manasseh, king of Judah, prisoner to Babylon, and drove Tirhakah out of Egypt into Ethiopia. Assurbanipal, son of Esarhaddon, associated with his father,

B.C. 672 Continuing the war, he besieged Bahal,

king of Tyre; and crossing Palestine and Egypt, invaded Ethiopia.

B.C. 671 Egypt re-organized and divided into twenty governments by Esarhaddon; Manasseh pardoned and restored.

B.C. 669 Tirhakah again invades Egypt and expels the Assyrians.

B.C. 668 Death of Esarhaddon.

Some of these dates are doubtful, but the time of the revolt and conquest of Palestine and Egypt, B.C. 673, 672, is fairly certain.

I have found altogether five accounts of Esarhaddon's war with Tirhakah, all of these are, however, mutilated; I have given among the Extracts the fragments of the two best copies, one among the others is on a stele cut in the rock, near the mouth of the river Nahr el Kelb, in the North of Palestine. The British Museum possesses a cast of this curious monument in very bad condition, but a new inspection of the rock might give a much better cast. The following fragments can be made out from our present impression:

1 To the god Hea . . . . . lord of the sea . . .

2 . . . . . maker of fate . . . .

3 (Esarhaddon) . . . . . power and glory . . .

4 king of Assyria, high priest of Babylon . . . .

5 of Karduniyas, king . . . . .

6 and Kush, king of the four regions, son of Sennacherib . . . . . .

7 king of nations, king of Assyria. With joy and shouting into Memphis the capital city of (Tarqu king of Kush),

8 he entered. His . . . . . in that city, which from (remote times) had not been taken, he sat

9 . . . . . and mace . . . . . .

10 . . . . . all of them he entered, and . . . . .

11 his . . . . . the houses of Tarqu king of Kush, and his goods . . . . .

12 . . . . . the houses of . . . . his sons . . . .

13 . . . . . favour . . . . . goods . . . .

14 . . . precious stones . . . . . gold he brought out . . . .

15 . . . . . precious stones, everything without number . . . . . .

16 beautifully made . . . . I opened, and . . . . the treasures . . . . . .

17 . . . . of his royalty, the house of . . . . .

18 . . . . . of a king which were beautiful . . . . . royalty . . . .

19 their . . . and 15 . . . . of gold of the women of his palaces . . . .

20 . . . . . brickwork . . . . . great . . .

21 camp of . . . . without number . . . . . .

22 . . . . . bronze, lead, antimony, horns of buffaloes, ...

23 . . . . . Tarqu king of Kush . . . the royal goods . . . . . .

24 . . . . . his relatives and his family . . . . .

25 . . . . . his . . . and the . . . of the kings

26 . . . . . wise men . . . . .

27 . . . . . silver like . . . .

28 . . . . . women . . . . .

29 and 30 lost.

31 . . . . . Askelon . . . . .

32 . . . . . which Tarqu for his fortress had made

33 . . . . . city of Tyre . . . . .

34 . . . . . 22 kings . . . . .

35 to 37 lost.

This confirms the fragment already mentioned in p. 141, and appears to state, that Tirhakah had fortified Askelon against the Assyrians. He had evidently extended his influence over the whole of Palestine and Cyprus, for Tyre and the 22 kings of these regions are mentioned, and Esarhaddon was forced to march against him, or to give up the command of the Mediterranean coast.

The extent of the revolt will account for the retribution of Esarhaddon, which included, as before stated, the final captivity of Israel, and the imprisonment of Manasseh, king of Judah, at Babylon, to which city Esarhaddon retired after the conquest of Egypt.

Up to this time the people of Israel had been allowed their own rulers, although they had been directly appointed by the Assyrian monarchs since the capture of Samaria; but after this they were placed under military governors like the rest of Syria, and, in fact, incorporated with the empire.

The writer of the Book of Isaiah (ch. 7. 8) fixes the date of this final captivity of Israel sixty-five years after one of the attacks of Pekah and Rezin on Ahaz, king of Judah; and, adding sixty-five to B.C. 673, we come to B.C. 738, at which date, according to Tiglath Pileser, the king of Judah was at war with some of his northern neighbours.

There is no other question connected with the reign of Esarhaddon; but on passing to the previous reign, that of Sennacherib, there are several important points. It will be more convenient here, before giving these, to sketch the chronology of the reign, giving the limits within which it appears the various campaigns took place:

B.C.

705 Accession of Sennacherib, revolt of Babylon.

704 Conquest of Merodach Baladan, king of Babylon.

703 Bel-ibni (Belibus) made king of Babylon.

703, 702 Conquest of Illipi,

702, 701 Expedition against Hezekiah (Extracts XXXI., XXXII., XXXIII.).

700 Expedition to Babylon, Assur-nadin-sum, son of Sennacherib, made king of Babylon.

699, 698 Expedition to Nipur and Anara.

698-696 Expedition to Nagitu on the Persian gulf.

697-694 Expedition to Elam.

696-691 Expedition to Babylonia.

695-690 Expedition to Babylonia; destruction of Babylon.

694-689 Expedition to Palestine and Arabia (Extracts XXXIV., XXXV.).

Sennacherib continued to reign at least down to the year 684, and probably two or three years later, but there is no record of the last part of his reign, and no event can be fixed, even approximately, after his second expedition to Palestine; there is, in fact, some doubt if the two last campaigns here given were

not later than I have placed them, the destruction of Babylon may possibly be as late as B.C. 689.

It is evident that the fragment which I have given in Extract XXXIV., refers to a late campaign in the neighbourhood of Palestine, and the names of some of the Arab tribes subdued are there given; in this war Sennacherib stormed the city of Edom, and carried captive the gods of the king of that place; which deities were restored by Esarhaddon to the Arabian monarch. There is, however, nothing to prove that he touched Judea in this campaign, and as the war happened after the death of Hezekiah, it cannot be the one in which Sennacherib lost his army.

There is a general agreement among chronologists as to the date of the accession of Manasseh in Judah, which happened somewhere between B.C. 698 and 697; I have chosen B.C. 697 as the most probable date.

In the earlier part of the reign of Sennacherib, B.C. 702-701, he conducted his great campaign against Hezekiah, king of Judah, which is recorded in Extract XXXI. In the Assyrian annals, the date of this expedition is very clearly fixed; and there is no difference of opinion among scholars as to it; but there is some difficulty in fitting this date to the statements of the Second Book of Kings. As Hezekiah died B.C. 697, after a reign of twenty-nine years, his accession must have happened B.C. 726, and 2 Kings 18. 13, states, that the expedition of Sennacherib took place during his fourteenth year, which would be B.C. 712. This date is just about ten years

higher than the date of Sennacherib's expedition, B.C. 702-701; and as the Assyrian date rests on the best contemporary evidence, various suggestions have been made to account for the discrepancy between the two. The most curious of these are the speculations of Haigh and Bosanquet. Mr. Bosanquet, who cuts all the Bible dates down, finds the Assyrian date of Sennacherib's invasion, B.C. 702-701, too high for his system, and proposes that Sennacherib made an expedition against Hezekiah in the *second* year of the Jewish monarch's reign, which he fixes at B.C. 701! The Rev. D. H. Haigh, who also reduces the chronology here, makes this the expedition in which Samaria was besieged. These two views are fairly out of question, as they are inconsistent with the Assyrian inscriptions. Dr. Oppert reads the Biblical date, "fourteenth year after Hezekiah's illness," instead of "fourteenth of his reign." Ernest de Bunsen supposes that a previous expedition against Judah in the reign of Sargon, B.C. 711, which was close to the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, was the one intended, and there is certainly some ground for this opinion, in which he is supported by the Rev. A. H. Sayce, Mr. Basil Cooper, and some other chronologists. I myself think it a simpler, and probably more correct view, to suppose that there is an error in the Book of Kings, and that we should read "twenty-fourth" instead of "fourteenth." The twenty-fourth of Hezekiah would be B.C. 702, and would well synchronise with the Assyrian date of this expedition. There is, however, so much to be said in favour of the view adopted by Ernest de Bunsen, that I must point out

some considerations in support of it. The Bible states that the expedition in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah was commanded by "Sennacherib, king of Assyria," while the Assyrian canon and the annals of Sargon show that the expedition of B.C. 711 was in the reign of Sargon; that of Sennacherib not commencing until six years later. It appears probable, however, that Sennacherib held some official rank during his father's reign, and it is quite possible that he commanded the expedition in B.C. 711, as his father's deputy. In the tablet K 2169 Sennacherib is called "rabsaki" (rabshakeh) or general, and "great royal son," that is, heir to the throne; and he is said to possess his own scribe; the passage reads:

1 Tablet of Aia-suzubu-ilih the scribe
2 of the rabshakeh, of Sennacherib,
3 the great royal son of Sargon, king of Assyria.

The title, great royal son, was assumed by Assurbanipal when he was associated with his father on the throne.

Although it may not be certain if the campaign in B.C. 711 is the one mentioned in the Second Book of Kings, as directed against Hezekiah in his fourteenth year, yet there are two other events mentioned which evidently belong to this period. One is the illness of Hezekiah, and the other is the embassy from Merodach Baladan, to congratulate him on his recovery. These events certainly belong to B.C. 712; and in that year there was a partial eclipse of the sun visible at Jerusalem, which may possibly account for the alteration of the shadow on the dial of Ahaz, 2 Kings 20. 8-11. The cylinder of Sargon in the

British Museum, and the annals on the walls of his palace, appear to differ as to the regnal year of the expedition, B.C. 711. In the cylinder it is called the ninth year, but in the annals it is called the eleventh year. I have supposed the difference to have arisen from the two documents counting the reign of Sargon from two different starting points; but it is possible that this may be not so; it may indicate that the operations against Palestine were spread over the two years, from B.C. 713 to 711.

These operations against Ashdod, are mentioned in Isaiah 20, where we read: "In the year that Tartan came unto Ashdod (when Sargon the king of Assyria, sent him), and fought against Ashdod, and took it."

A little earlier than these operations, in B.C. 715, the Assyrians were also in Palestine. In that year Sargon conquered some of the Arabian tribes, and transported them into Samaria; and Samsi, queen of Arabia, with Ithamar the Sabean, and Pharaoh of Egypt, gave presents to the Assyrians (Extract XXVIII.).

Before this year, there are, belonging to the reign of Sargon, the notices and fragments of the period, B.C. 722 and 720. These are given in Extracts XXII. to XXVII. In the present broken state of these fragments, it appears as if operations against Samaria, the capital of Israel, are mentioned, both in B.C. 722 and 720, and the capture of the city and captivity of the inhabitants are both mentioned in B.C. 722. This date is therefore assumed by some scholars as the date of the captivity of the ten tribes;

but as the siege lasted two years, it appears to me more likely that it commenced in B.C. 722, and ended in B.C. 720. I account for the notice of the capture of Samaria in the annals at B.C. 722, by supposing that Sargon, having commenced the siege in that year, went on to describe its conclusion before mentioning the campaign of B.C. 721, which was in a totally different district. In confirmation of this opinion, it may be mentioned that the earliest inscription of Sargon, from which Extract XXVII. is taken, which was made in B.C. 720, is silent as to the events of B.C. 722, and does not mention the capture of Samaria.

From a consideration of the various texts, I judge the order of the events to be:

B.C. 722 Death of Shalmaneser, accession of Sargon, general revolt, Assyrians marched into Palestine and besieged Samaria.

B.C. 721 Continuation of the siege.

B.C. 720 Sargon conquers Ilubihid of Hamath, then marched to Samaria, which was stormed; afterwards he defeated Sibahe (Sevechus) of Egypt, and Hanun of Gaza.

The Assyrian evidence leads me to suggest a new arrangement of the kings of the 25th, or Ethiopian, dynasty in Egypt. The Assyrian texts mention all three kings, but instead of the first being Sabaco, as in the copies of Manetho, it is Sevechus who appears first in the Assyrian inscriptions. Manetho at present gives:

Sabaco.

Sevechus.

Tirhakah.

While the Assyrian account gives:

Sibahe, or Sibâhki; the Sevechus of Manetho, the Sabatok of the inscriptions, and the So, or Sheva, of 2 Kings 17. 4. He was reigning B.C. 720.

Sabaku; the Sabaco of the Greeks.

Tarqu; the Tirhakah of the Bible, brother of the wife of Sabaku.

The year B.C. 722 belongs partly to the reign of Shalmaneser and partly to that of Sargon; it is uncertain if the siege of Samaria was commenced before the death of Shalmaneser or not: the passage in 2 Kings 18. 9, favours the view that Shalmaneser commenced the siege. Taking the accession of Hezekiah at B.C. 726, the siege of Samaria from B.C. 722 to 720, would precisely agree with the Bible account, which makes it last from the fourth to the sixth of Hezekiah. Hoshea, the last king of Israel, reigned nine years, and, as Samaria was captured B.C. 720, his reign must have commenced B.C. 729; and in Extract XVIII., Tiglath Pileser, whose annals end in this year, mentions Hoshea's accession. The Second Book of Kings, chaps. 17, 18, mentions that Hoshea was contemporary with Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, and paid him tribute; and during the reign of Hoshea, B.C. 729 to 720, the Assyrian canon gives a reign of five years to Shalmaneser, B.C. 727 to 722. Throughout the reign of Hoshea the correspondence between the Assyrian records and the Bible is striking and complete; and it is not possible for any chronological system to be correct which moves his reign from the position in

which it is fixed both by the Assyrian inscriptions and the Second Book of Kings.

It is rarely that we can fix from external sources, both the commencement and close of a reign, and therefore this case, in which the accession of Hoshea is given by Tiglath Pileser, the contemporary king, Shalmaneser, given by the canon, and the fall of Samaria by Sargon, is one of great chronological importance.

The passage in Isaiah 14. 28, 29, appears to indicate that the death of Tiglath Pileser took place very near the time of the death of Ahaz; and while Ahaz died in B.C. 726, according to the Bible, Tiglath Pileser died late in B.C. 727, according to the Assyrian inscriptions. Here again there appears a very close agreement between the two records. On passing up from this point to the reign of Ahaz, we are, however, surrounded with difficulties from which the lower dates are free. Ahaz is stated to have reigned sixteen years; and therefore, as he died B.C. 726, he must have ascended the throne B.C. 742. His reign was contemporary with that of Tiglath Pileser, which extended from B.C. 745 to 727, and in their time there was an important and intimate connection between Assyria and Palestine.

The last synchronism of importance in the annals of Tiglath Pileser is at the accession of Hoshea, king of Israel. The date of this event is fixed within narrow limits; it took place after Tiglath Pileser's expedition to Palestine, which ended B.C. 732, and not later than B.C. 729, which was the seventeenth year of Tiglath Pileser, and the year in which his

annals ended. This makes a possible latitude of two years, B.C. 731 to 729; and it is a curious fact, which I have pointed out with respect to the later dates, that there is a doubt to the extent of two years all down the chronology. I have, as I stated in p. 176, chosen the date B.C. 729 for the accession of Hoshea, having adhered to the lower dates throughout, as they appear to me to agree better with the Assyrian evidence.

Next in order, above the accession of Hoshea, we have the war in Palestine, which lasted from B.C. 734 to 732. The date and place of this war are fixed by the Assyrian canon, and Extracts XVI. to XX. give what now remains of the Assyrian account. Beside these, there is one fragment which formed the first words of the war, and in position goes before Extract XVI., and should form part of that Extract, but there is so much matter lost between the fragments that I did not introduce it; it is, "Rezin of Syria . . . . . " Small as this fragment is, it is valuable, as showing that the name of Rezin was in the heading which explained the origin of the war. It is generally agreed among Assyriologists, that this war was the one mentioned in 2 Kings 16, 2 Chronicles 28, and Isaiah 7, in which Ahaz, being attacked by Rezin, king of Damascus, and Pekah of Israel, sent and asked the aid of Tiglath Pileser, who then came and conquered the whole of Palestine.

The agreement between the fragments of the Assyrian record and the Biblical account is here clear enough, and there can be no doubt that they refer to

the same events, but there is a curious difference as to the name of the king of Judah. Ahaz is the name given to this monarch in the Bible, but the Assyrian inscription, Extract XX., calls him Yahuhazi or Jehoahaz. In this case there is no question as to the identity of the monarch, that is certain; and in consequence various theories have been advanced to account for the difference of name, nothing, however, is known on this point, but I am able to bring some evidence to show that these tribute lists were sometimes carelessly compiled, and in error as to names. This very tribute list, Extract XX., is one instance in point, it contains the name of Metinti of Askelon, who was already dead, according to Extract XVII., and had been succeeded by Rukiptu his son; and among the other tributaries is quoted Vassurmi of Tubal, who, we are informed directly afterwards, refused to come and give tribute, yet his name figures among the others as paying it.

There is another instance in the tribute list in the first expedition of Assurbanipal, Extract XLI., which, so far as it is preserved, contains the same names as that of Esarhaddon, about thirteen years before, being most probably a literal copy of the earlier document, without any attempt to ascertain if these kings were still reigning, and if they really paid tribute. One of these names is particularly doubtful, the first in the list, Bahal of Tyre, who was in rebellion late in the reign of Esarhaddon, and only submitted on the third expedition of Assurbanipal.

These evidences of error in the tribute lists are accompanied by similar false statements as to foreign

proper names in the annals of some of their kings, and should serve as a caution against attaching too much importance to a difference in a proper name between the Bible and the inscriptions.

Before the year B.C. 734 Tiglath Pileser came to Palestine, in B.C. 738, and found a war already raging there, in which Judah and Hamath were involved. It appears, so far as we can gather from the Assyrian fragments, Extracts XIV. and XV., that in this contest the people of Hamath sided with Judah; but this is not quite certain, owing to the mutilation of the fragments. This expedition fell within both the reign of Ahaz and that of Pekah of Israel, the predecessor of Hoshea, yet the Assyrian annals give the name of Azariah to the king of Judah, and Menahem to the monarch of Israel. Menahem was the name of the king of Israel who had some years previously paid tribute to Pul, king of Assyria, and Azariah was his contemporary in Judah. In this case it is probable that the Assyrian writer did not know that the crowns had changed hands, or that Ahaz and Pekah had more than one name. This is not so improbable as it might appear at first sight, for there are two other instances in which kings are certainly called by more than one name, in 2 Chron. 21. 17, we have Jehoahaz; in 22. 1, we have Ahaziah, which is the same name with the elements reversed; and in ch. 22. 6, we have Azariah, all for the same monarch. Now if Ahaziah and Azariah were considered equivalent names, or names of the same meaning, then Ahaz, who is certainly called Ahaziah, might also be called Azariah. Otherwise, if we are to suspect

some error of the Jews with respect to their own proper names, how much more is it likely that the Assyrians, living at a distance, might make a mistake. The second instance in the Bible where a king bears two names, is that of Uzziah, who is also called Azariah. In the case of the expedition of Tiglath Pileser in B.C. 738, it appears to me far more reasonable to suppose that Ahaz and Pekah are intended, in preference to altering all the earlier Bible chronology and bringing down the date of Azariah and Menahem to the middle of the reign of Tiglath Pileser. The fact that when Tiglath Pileser came to Palestine, in B.C. 738, he found a war going on against the king of Judah, in which the people, even as far as Hamath, joined, Extracts XIV. and XV., accords also much better with the Biblical account of the reign of Ahaz than with that of Azariah, for while Ahaz was engaged in war with his northern neighbours, no such contest is noticed in the Bible during the reign of Azariah. In this campaign of Tiglath Pileser he appears to have been hostile to Judah, for so far as we can gather from the mutilated inscriptions, he punished some of the people of Hamath for taking part with Judah in the war.

There is a still earlier Syrian war of Tiglath Pileser which extended from B.C. 743 to 740. Very few details of it are preserved, Extract XIII. being the only fragment of importance. In this war Tiglath Pileser conquered Northern Syria, the centre of his operations being the city of Arpad, which lay somewhere near Hamath. This expedition of Tiglath Pileser coin-

cided with the accession of Ahaz, B.C. 742, and the first attack made by Syria and Israel against Judah.

In the view which I now take, that the Syrian wars of Tiglath Pileser, in B.C. 743-740, and 738, happened during the reign of Ahaz, I am departing from my original opinion, which was that these events happened in the time of Azariah, and I am differing from the opinion of Sir H. Rawlinson, Canon Rawlinson, Professors Schrader and Brandes, who accept as correct the Assyrian statements. In noticing this difference, I must confess that the view held by the two Rawlinsons and the German Professors is more consistent with the literal statements of the Assyrian inscriptions than my own, but I am utterly unable to see how the Biblical chronology can be so far astray here as the inscriptions lead one to suppose.

The view of Professor Oppert is, that the Menahem mentioned in the inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser, was a grandson of the Menahem of the Bible, and an opponent of Pekah in the Assyrian interest, and he makes the Azariah, mentioned by Tiglath Pileser, to be the "son of Tabeal," spoken of in Isaiah 7. 6. Professor Oppert's date for Ahaz, is B.C. 742, the same as that of Archbishop Ussher, and the one I have now adopted.

About ten years before the accession of Tiglath Pileser, in B.C. 755, and 754, there were two expeditions to Syria: one to Hadrach, the other to Arpad. These are only known from the Assyrian Canon, and no details have been discovered respecting them; they must have happened during the reign of Jotham the father of Ahaz, B.C. 758 to 742.

In B.C. 765 there was also an expedition to Hadrach, of which we have no details; this must have fallen during the reign of Azariah king of Judah. In the year B.C. 763 an event happened in Assyria which appears also to have been noticed in Palestine; this was a great solar eclipse (see p. 63), which Mr. J. W. Bosanquet has happily connected with the passage in Amos 8. 9. There appears also a slight allusion to it in Amos 5. 8.

The next point of contact between Assyria and Palestine appears to have happened at the accession of Menahem, king of Israel.

Uzziah or Azariah, king of Judah, reigned fifty-two years, from B.C. 810 to 758. In his thirty-eighth year, B.C. 773, Jeroboam died; and after two short reigns, amounting to seven months, Menahem, an Israelitish general, took possession of the throne. The people were dissatisfied at his usurpation, and refused to acknowledge him as king, on which Menahem turned to Pul king of Assyria, who was then in Palestine, and purchased his recognition at the price of one thousand talents of silver, 2 Kings 15. 19. It is evident from the Biblical account that Pul was a powerful monarch, who was then extending his dominion over Palestine; and it has been one of the greatest problems of Assyriologists to discover which king of Assyria is called Pul in the Bible. This question forms the key of the whole chronological problem. I have already given some notice of it in p. 76, but the importance of the subject justifies a fuller discussion of the evidence. The third suggestion which I have there noticed (that of Sir H. Rawlinson and

Professor Schrader) is closely in accordance with the Assyrian evidence, if the Biblical chronology is ignored. According to this, Pul and Tiglath Pileser are names of the same monarch, and while we have in the Bible, Azariah, Menahem and Pul contemporary, we have in the inscriptions Azariah, Menahem and Tiglath Pileser (see Extract XV.). This view, however, necessitates lowering the date of the accession of Menahem, king of Israel, to B.C. 744, and obliges us to make corresponding reductions above, so that the date of the death of Solomon would fall about B.C. 932. There are two points apparently in favour of this low chronology:

1. There is some evidence from Roman authors that Carthage was founded about B.C. 715, and the foundation of that city is stated by Josephus to have been 155 years and 8 months after the accession of Hirom, king of Tyre, the friend and contemporary of Solomon. This would give B.C. 971 for the accession of Hirom.

2. The best copy of Manetho, that of Africanus, gives the date of the accession of Sheshonk or Shishak, the leader of the twenty-second Egyptian dynasty, at B.C. 935, and as Shishak came to the Egyptian throne during the latter part of the reign of Solomon, this would suit the lower date B.C. 932 for the death of Solomon.

The theory that Pul is Tiglath Pileser is supported by stronger evidence than any other which has been brought forward, but the difficulty of crowding all the events, from the accession of Menahem, king of Israel, down to that of Hosea, a period according to the Bible of three successive reigns, and forty-three years,

into the seventeen years of Tiglath Pileser's annals, forms, I think, an insuperable objection to this view.

Canon Rawlinson, Ernest de Bunsen, and Rev. D. H. Haigh, all suppose that Pul reigned a little before Tiglath Pileser; Canon Rawlinson thinks he was a Pretender, who held possession of the western provinces; Ernest de Bunsen thinks he began his reign B.C. 763, the year of the eclipse; and Rev. D. H. Haigh makes him the Assur-nirari of the Assyrian canon, with the date B.C. 754. This was at first my own view, but I have been forced to abandon it as untenable. These speculations have, however, little support, and are not likely to be correct.

Dr. Oppert, as I have stated in pp. 4, 5, 75, makes a gap of forty-seven years in the canon, and places Pul there. The evidence of the truth of the canon already given, appears to me to place this hypothesis out of the question.

My own theory for the solution of the problem is founded on the principle I have followed out in all these dates, the principle of taking the Assyrian records to be correct as to Assyrian dates, and the Hebrew records as to Hebrew dates. The date I fix for the accession of Zachariah, king of Israel, is B.C. 773, which is exactly the same date as Ussher's, in the margin of our Bible, 2 Kings 15. 8. According to our marginal dates, the submission of Menahem to Pul took place within two years of this, that is, in B.C. 771. I should be inclined to place this event a little earlier, at least in B.C. 772, probably in 773, but a difference of two years may be partly accounted for by different methods of dating. Now it is a

curious fact that in this period, at the commencement of the reign of Menahem, the Assyrian canon registers two successive expeditions to Palestine, in B.C. 773 to Damascus, and in 772 to the neighbouring city of Hadrach. These expeditions so closely correspond in time with the Biblical date of Pul's expedition, that I am strongly of opinion that one of these campaigns was the occasion on which Menahem invoked the aid of the Assyrian monarch. From an Assyrian point of view I should think the campaign in B.C. 773, when the Assyrians went to Damascus, most likely to be the expedition in question, for Damascus, the terminus of this campaign, is nearer to the territory of Israel than any other city reached by the Assyrians down to the time of Tiglath Pileser. The expedition in B.C. 773 occurs, however, according to the canon, in the reign of Shalmaneser III., whose name cannot by any process be tortured into a resemblance to Pul. This objection I think can be explained by a curious notice in two inscriptions of Vul-nirari, the predecessor of Shalmaneser. From this notice I judge that Shalmaneser was the son of Vul-nirari, and did not reign independently, but was associated with his father during his lifetime; and I believe that Vul-nirari continued to reign at least as late as B.C. 773.

The passage in question, which is found in *C.I.*, Vol. I., p. 35, reads:

"Palace of Vul-nirari, the great king, the powerful king, king of nations, king of Assyria. The king, whom in his son, Assur, king of the spirits, has renowned, and a dominion unequalled has given to his hand."

This allusion to Vul-nirari being renowned through his son points to his being associated in the government.

Again, in his principal inscription, Extract XII., Vul-nirari celebrates a special expedition to Damascus, and immediately before it, states that he took tribute from Tyre, Zidon, the land of Omri or Israel, Edom, and Philistia. Now the expedition to Damascus, in B.C. 773, is the only one in the eponym canon to that place which comes anywhere near the time of Vulnirari; and his statement that he took tribute from the land of Omri corresponds precisely with the Biblical statement, that Menahem, king of Israel, paid tribute to Pul. It has been conjectured for many years that the name of Vul-nirari contains the elements of the Biblical Pul. Pur or Pul is one of the well-known values of the first element in the name, and it was quite in accordance with Assyrian custom to shorten similar names in common use; thus: the king Agu-kak-rimi is generally called Agu, and Ragmu-seri-ina-namari, a long name in the Izdubar legends, is often shortened to Ragmu; so the name Vul-nirari, which was probably Pul-nirari, was quite possibly shortened to Pul.

On the strength of the inscription in which he states that he subdued and took tribute from the land of Omri, or Israel, Sir Henry Rawlinson, some years back, identified Vul-nirari with the Biblical Pul; but he afterwards abandoned this view when he discovered the eponym canon.

During the earlier part of the reign of Vul-nirari, he came several times to Syria; in B.C. 806 to Arpad,

on the west of the Euphrates; next year to the Upper Orontes; in the following year to Bahili, in Phœnicia; and in B.C. 803 to the coast of the Mediterranean; in B.C. 797 he marched to Manzuat, or Sarrigat, a place the position of which is unknown; and in B.C. 786 he reached Kisku, in the land of Hamath: no details of any of these campaigns are known; but, judging from the localities mentioned, he does not appear to have touched Damascus or Palestine proper until B.C. 773.

These earlier expeditions of Vul-nirari took place during the reign of Jeroboam II., king of Israel, who ascended the throne B.C. 824.

For some years previous to this there was no direct communication between Assyria and Palestine, and in the interval a great revolt happened in Assyria, which ended in the capture of Nineveh, Assur, and other cities. Passing the period of this revolt, we come to an interesting series of expeditions in the reign of Shalmaneser II. Extracts I. to XI. These give us the following information:

B.C.

854 Expedition to Hamath; war with Ben-hadad of Damascus and his allies, including Ahab of Zirhala.

850 Defeat of Ben-hadad and his allies.

849 Defeat of Ben-hadad and his allies.

846 Defeat of Ben-hadad and his allies.

842 Expedition to Lebanon; defeat of Hazael of Damascus; siege of Damascus; tribute from Jehu, son of Omri.

839 Capture of four towns of Hazael of Damascus.

Now the ordinary view among Assyriologists is, that the Ahab and Jehu here mentioned are the two kings of Israel so named; if this be so, then Ahab must have died B.C. 854, and Jehu have come to the throne B.C. 842; in each case more than forty years after the Biblical date. There is, however, another possible view of the question, which will solve this difficulty. The two names in question may not belong to these Hebrew kings at all. The first one is called Ahab of Zirhala; and Professor Oppert, who discovered the name, reads Ahab the Israelite; but some ingenious remarks have been made on the name Zirhala by the Rev. D. H. Haigh, who has pointed out that Zir is not the usual reading of the first character, and that the name should be Suhala; and he suggests that the geographical name Samhala, or Savhala, a kingdom near Damascus, is intended in this place, and not the kingdom of Israel. The hypothesis of the Rev. D. H. Haigh may be correct; certainly he is right as to the usual phonetic value of the first character of this geographical name; but on the other hand, we find it certainly used sometimes for the syllable zir. Even if the view of the Rev. D. H. Haigh has to be given up, and if the reading, Ahab the Israelite, has to be accepted, it would be possible that this was not the Ahab of Scripture. The time when this battle took place, B.C. 854, was, according to the chronology here suggested, during the reign of Jehoahaz, king of Israel, B.C. 857 to 840; and at this time part of the territory of Israel had been conquered, and was held by the kingdom of Damascus: it is quite possible that in

the part of the country under the dominion of Damascus a ruler named Ahab may have reigned, and that he may have assisted Ben-hadad with his forces against the Assyrians. It does not seem likely that the Biblical Ahab, who was the foe of the king of Damascus, sent any troops to his aid, at least, such a circumstance is never hinted at in the Bible, and is contrary to the description of his conduct and reign. Under these circumstances I have given up the identification of the Ahab who assisted Ben-hadad at the battle of Qarqar, B.C. 854, with the Ahab, king of Israel, who died, I believe, forty-five years earlier, in B.C. 899.

There is another supposed Hebrew king in the annals of Shalmaneser, B.C. 842, Extracts VIII. and X., called "Jehu son of Omri," who is generally identified with "Jehu son of Nimshi," the king of Israel. The country ruled by Jehu, son of Omri, is not stated in the inscriptions; and it appears unlikely that Jehu, king of Israel, who exterminated the family of Omri, should call himself son of that king. Without advancing any theory for the identification of the monarch mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions, I would urge that the identity of the Jehu of the Bible with the Jehu of the inscriptions is not proved, and that these notices are not enough to force us to alter all our Bible dates.

There remain for consideration the names of the kings of Damascus in the annals of Shalmaneser. From these inscriptions we learn that there was a Benhadar or Ben-hadad who was on the throne B.C. 856, and ended his reign between B.C. 846 and 842, and that

his successor, Hazael, ascended the throne between B.C. 846 and 842. The notices of the kings of Damascus in 2 Kings, appear to me inconsistent in some places, and I suspect a slight error between 2 Kings 13. 3, and 2 Kings 13. 22. The following is the view I am inclined to take as to the kings of Damascus.

	ABOUT B.C.	CONTEMPORARY WITH
Rezin I. . . .	990 to 970	Solomon; 1 Kings xi. 23-25; called Hezion; 1 Kings xv. 18.
Tab-rimon . . .	970 to 950	Jeroboam; 1 Kings xv. 18.
Ben-hadad I. . . .	950 to 930	Baasha; 1 Kings xv. 18-20.
(King name unknown).	930 to 910	Omri; 1 Kings xx. 34.
Ben-hadad II. . .	910 to 886	Ahab; 1 Kings xx.
Hazael I. . . .	886 to 857	Jehu; 2 Kings viii. 9.
Benhadad III. . .	857 to 844	Jehoahaz; 2 Kings xiii. 3. Inscriptions of Shalmaneser.
Hazael II. . . .	844 to 830	Jehoahaz and Joash; 2 Kings xii. 17; xiii. 22.
Benhadad IV. . .	830 to 800	Joash and Jeroboam; 2 Kings xiii. 24.
Mariha . . .	800 to 770	Jeroboam. Inscription of Vul-nirari III.
Hadara (?) . . .	770 to 750	Menahem. Inscription of Tiglath Pileser, Extract. XVI., 11.
Rezin II. . . .	750 to 732	Pekah; 2 Kings xv. 37. Inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser.

The two kings most doubtful in this list are

Hazael II. and Ben-hadad IV.; it is possible that these may be only duplicates of Hazael I. and Ben-hadad III., and if so, then all my argument would fall to the ground, because the date of the accession of the king, named Hazael in the inscription of Shalmaneser, is certainly between B.C. 846-842; and if he was Hazael, the contemporary of Jehu, the date of Jehu and of all the kings above, must be reduced over forty years.

In the Bible account of this period, during the reign of Jehoahaz king of Israel, we are told that the Lord sent Israel a saviour, who delivered them out of the hand of the Syrians, and it has been suspected, that this saviour was no other than an Assyrian monarch, who by defeating the king of Damascus, gave a respite to the Israelites. I am of opinion that Shalmaneser is the saviour alluded to; and that his campaigns against Ben-hadad broke the power of that monarch for a time, and so gave a breathing time to the Israelites.

Earlier than the time of Shalmaneser there is no synchronism between the histories of the two kingdoms of Israel and Assyria; and, as I have urged the probability of errors in the Assyrian accounts, where they differ on Jewish matters from the Bible, it would be useful, before quitting the subject, to point out all the known instances of errors or ignorance in the Assyrian inscriptions on historical points.

Commencing with the inscriptions of Shalmaneser, we have in the black obelisk the most glaring chronological error in the range of the inscriptions. In line 45, the eponymy of Dayanassur is given for

the fourth year of Shalmaneser and the war against Ahuni of Tul-barsab; whereas the earlier and correct text on the Kurkh monolith has the eponymy of Assur-banai-uzur two years earlier.

In the Kurkh monolith, the name of Shalmaneser himself is written Ilu-manu-uzur; part of the word being omitted by an accidental error; and in the body of the inscription, in the account of the war with Ben-hadad, Extract I., there are considerable differences from the other copies, as to the kings confederate with Ben-hadad; only eleven are enumerated in Extract I., yet they are called "these twelve kings." In Extract II. they are called, "Ben-hadad of Syria, Irhulini of Hamath, and the twelve kings," making in all, fourteen; we have the same in Extract IV.; then in Extract V. we have, "Ben-hadad of Syria and the twelve kings, making thirteen; again, in Extract VII., we have simply twelve kings; in Extract I., line 90, Shalmaneser calls Qarqar or Aroer "my royal city," instead of his royal city; and in line 97 the slain are counted at 14,000; while in Extract II. they are given as 25,000; and in Extract III. at 20,500; all in accounts of the same battle!

There are some minor errors in figures in the annals of Tiglath Pileser; and apparently errors in the names entered in the tribute list, Extract XX., B.C. 732, which I have alluded to in page 179: and in a subsequent line of the inscription, from which this Extract is copied, we are informed that Metenna was king of Tyre, whereas the Tyrian fragments, given by Josephus, show Luli or Elulias king of

Tyre between B.C. 737 and 701. In this case I cannot tell which is right, but give the circumstance to show that the Assyrian records sometimes differed from the records of other countries with which they came into contact.

In the reign of Sargon, there is what appears to be a false date in the eponymy of Mannu-ki-assur-liha, page 86, where we have twelfth year, instead of thirteenth.

In the history of Sennacherib, the captured cities in the first campaign are given in the Bellino cylinder as eighty-nine fortresses and 820 smaller cities; while the Taylor inscription gives seventy-five fortresses and 420 smaller cities. Some of the inscriptions call Sennacherib, Assuracherib; and we have Garacherib and Belacherib also, as erroneous variations of the name.

In page 91 I have given, under B.C. 681, a date on a contract written "in the eponymy *after* Nabu-sar-uzur, as if the writer did not know who was then eponym in Assyria; and in page 92, under B.C. 680, there is an erroneous title to the eponym in one case.

I have already stated, page 179, that the tribute list in the first expedition of Assurbanipal is doubtful; there are other cases of difficulty in the reign of this monarch. In the tablet K 2675, *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 73 to 76, there is an account of the tribute of Mugallu, king of Tubal; but the Assyrian scribe has left the name of the country blank, probably not knowing it. In page 142 of the same work, I have given an epigraph from the Elamite

war with Teumman, in which the scribe did not know the name of the Elamite prince, and left the space for the name blank; and in page 148 of the *History of Assurbanipal*, I have given another instance, where two proper names of persons tortured at Nineveh are omitted, blank spaces being left for the names. There is another curious case of misstatement in the reign of this monarch. Esarhaddon informs us that Sennacherib had carried captive the gods of the king of Arabia; and that he, Esarhaddon, on the petition of Hazael, had restored them. The incidents are given also by Assurbanipal, who rightly states that they were captured by Sennacherib and restored by Esarhaddon; yet in one of his inscriptions, Cylinder B., *History of Assurbanipal*, page 283, he contradicts these statements, making out that Esarhaddon had carried the idols away, and he (Assurbanipal) had restored them to Vaiteh, the son of Hazael. It is difficult to suppose a want of knowledge here; it appears to be a bold attempt to claim the deed of a former monarch as his own, as he desired to make out that the Arabian monarch had sworn submission to himself when he delivered the idols, an incident which never occurred in his reign at all. From such an instance as this, we can see how a name like Menahem might be continued in the list of Assyrian tributaries, and his country be counted as subject to Assyria, long after Menahem and Pul were dead; the new king of Assyria ignoring the march of events, and not admitting that the tributary was dead, and the subject country in revolt.

There are other cases of error in the Assyrian inscriptions, but most of these do not bear on the subjects discussed here.

In the chronology I have adopted, the reign of Jehu falls from B.C. 885 to 857; and from his time there is scarcely a single question until we arrive at the date of the death of Solomon. The united reigns of the kings of Israel, between the death of Solomon and the accession of Jehu, according to the Books of Kings, amounted to ninety-eight years, while those of the kings of Judah, for the same period, amounted to ninety-five years; which of these numbers is nearest to the truth I cannot tell, but I adopt ninety-six years as a medium between the two, and arrive by this at the date B.C. 981 for the death of Solomon. In this part of the history there is really nothing to check the Biblical numbers, and the date chosen for the death of Solomon must depend upon the view taken of the chronological passages in the Books of Kings. I am not inclined myself to attach great importance to the synchronisms between the dates of the kings of Judah and Israel there given; it appears as if they were in error in several places, and some of the statements are not consistent with each other; but in general, the error is only of one or two years, and is easily rectified.

If our knowledge of Egyptian chronology was more complete, we might here derive assistance from it, as to two of the Hebrew dates, one of these is the invasion of Judah by Zerah the Ethiopian, and the other is the invasion of Palestine by Sesonq, or Shishak, the first king of the 22nd Egyptian dynasty.

The invasion of Zerah the Ethiopian, took place in the fifteenth year of Asa, according to my view, B.C. 945. It is admitted on all hands that he must have come up through Egypt, and therefore, for a time overcome the reigning monarch there, and from the fact that this invasion was 31 years after that of Shishak, it is evident that it took place during the reign of Takelut I., who was the third king of the 22nd dynasty. Now there is a curious relation on an inscription at Thebes, that in the 15th year of this king, on the 25th day of the month Mesori, there was an eclipse of the moon, and at the same time a calamity happened in the country from the rise of a body of enemies. I think this refers to the invasion of Zerah, and use the eclipse as a means of fixing the date. Among Egyptian scholars there has been very great difference of opinion as to the time of the eclipse, as it was sought for lower down in the history, and no corresponding eclipse visible at Thebes could be found. I believe the eclipse of April 4, B.C. 945, is the correct one, and that it will fix for us the date of several events. According to this the Egyptian kings of the period will be:

Sesonq I., 21 years - - - -	B.C. 995.
Osorkon I., 15 years - - - -	B.C. 974.
Takelut I. - - - - -	B.C. 959.
Invasion of Zerah - - eclipse	B.C. 945.

This will agree exactly with the chronological views advocated in the present volume, for Shishak was reigning both during the time of Solomon, and that of Rehoboam, and the date of Zerah falls in

the 15th of Asa king of Judah, but the connection between the inscription and the invasion of Zerah, is at present only a conjecture.

There is a curious passage in Ezekiel 4. 5, from which it is supposed that 390 years were counted from the death of Solomon down to the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity. The latter date will fall in B.C. 594 or 593, and if Solomon died B.C. 981, there will be 388 years between the two events, which is very close to Ezekiel's statement.

Based upon these considerations, I have prepared the following table, which gives my conclusions as to the dates of the principal events, from the death of Solomon to the time of Nebuchadnezzar:

Chronology from B.C. 983 to 562.

B.C.

981 Death of Solomon; division of the Hebrew monarchy into the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. 1 Kings 12.

976 Invasion of Judea by Sesonq (Shishak), king of Egypt. 1 Kings 14.

945 Zerah, the Cushite, invades Judah. 2 Chron. 14.

934 Baasha, king of Israel, builds Ramah as a fortress against Judah; Asa, king of Judah, sends and asks the aid of Ben-hadad, of Damascus, who then ravages the north of Israel. 1 Kings 15.

933 Accession of Omri, king of Israel. 1 Kings 16.

921 Accession of Ahab, king of Israel. 1 Kings 16.

913 Accession of Vul-nirari II., king of Assyria.

903 Ben-hadad II., king of Damascus, besieges Samaria. 1 Kings 20.

902 Defeat of Ben-hadad by Ahab. 1 Kings 20.

899 Alliance between Ahab of Israel and Jehoshaphat of Judah; they together attack Ben-hadad at Ramoth Gilead; Ahab slain in the battle. Revolt of Mesha, king of Moab, from Israel. 1 Kings 22; 2 Kings 1.

891 Accession of Tugulti-ninip II., king of Assyria.

886 Accession of Hazael, king of Damascus, and Ahaziah, king of Judah. 2 Kings 8.

885 Accession of Assur-nazir-pal, king of Assyria, Jehu, king of Israel, and Athaliah, queen of Judah. 2 Kings 9 to 11.

879 Murder of Athaliah; accession of Jehoash in Judah. 2 Kings 11.

860 Accession of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria.

854 Expedition of Shalmaneser to Hamath; defeat of Ben-hadad, king of Damascus, and his confederate kings, among them a king named Ahab.

850-849 Expeditions to Syria by Shalmaneser; defeats of Ben-hadad and his allies.

846 Expedition to Syria by Shalmaneser; defeat of Ben-hadad and his allies.

842 Expedition of Shalmaneser to Lebanon; defeat of Hazael, king of Damascus; siege of Damascus; march to the Mediterranean; tribute from Jehu, son of Omri.

840 Hazael, king of Damascus, invades Philistia, captures Gath, and takes tribute from Jehoash of Judah. 2 Kings 12. 17, 18.

839 War between Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, and Hazael of Damascus; four of Hazael's cities captured; death of Jehoash of Judah. 2 Kings 12. 21.

825 Accession of Samsi-vul III., king of Assyria.

824 Accession of Jeroboam, king of Israel. 2 Kings 14. 23.

773-772 Death of Jeroboam; accession of Zachariah, Shallum, and Menahem; campaigns of the Assyrians to Damascus and Hadrach; tribute of Menahem to Pul king of Assyria. 2 Kings 15.

765 Expedition of the Assyrians to Hadrach.

763 Great total eclipse across Western Asia.

761 Death of Menahem; accession of Pekahiah. 2 Kings 15. 23.

759 Pekah murders Pekahiah, and usurps the throne of Israel. 2 Kings 15. 25 to 27.

758 Accession of Jotham, king of Judah. 2 Kings 15. 32.

755 Assyrian expedition to Hadrach.

754 Assyrian expedition to Arpad.

747 Era of Nabonassar at Babylon.

745 Accession of Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria.

743 Assyrians in Arpad; commencement of Syrian war; tribute from Rezin and other princes, defeat of king of Armenia.

742 War at Arpad; attack by Rezon and Pekah on Judah; accession of Ahaz of Judah. 2 Kings 16. 1.

741 War at Arpad.

740 Capture of Arpad by the Assyrians.

738 Expedition of Tiglath Pileser to Hamath; second attack on Judah.

734 Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Damascus head another attack on Judah; Tiglath Pileser attacks Palestine.

733 Siege of Damascus.

732 Capture of Damascus.

729 Death of Pekah; accession of Hoshea king of Israel. 2 Kings 17. 1.

727 Death of Tiglath Pileser; accession of Shalmaneser.

726 Death of Ahaz; accession of Hezekiah. 2 Kings 18. 1.

725 Expedition of Shalmaneser against Hoshea of Israel. 2 Kings 17. 3.

722 Death of Shalmaneser; accession of Sargon; commencement of siege of Samaria.

721 Siege of Samaria.

720 Capture of Aroer and Samaria; defeat of Sevechus of Egypt.

715 Campaign of Sargon against the Arabs; tribute from Pharaoh.

712 Illness of Hezekiah; embassy from Merodach Baladan of Babylon.

711 Expedition against Ashdod. Isaiah 20. 1.

705 Death of Sargon king of Assyria; accession of Sennacherib.

702-701 Expedition of Sennacherib against Hezekiah. 2 Kings 18. 13.

697 Death of Hezekiah king of Judah; accession of Manasseh. 2 Kings 20. 21.

694-690 Expedition of Sennacherib against Arabia.

681 Murder of Sennacherib? Assur-ebil-ili-kain made king at Nineveh; civil war, Esarhaddon defeats his brothers and takes the crown.

680 War with Zidon; submission of all the rulers of Palestine, including Manasseh of Judah.

673 Esarhaddon attacks Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, who had caused Palestine to revolt, defeats the

Egyptians at Askelon and drives Tirhakah out of Egypt.

672 Continuation of war; siege of Tyre; invasion of Ethiopia.

671 Twenty kings set up in Egypt; Manasseh released by Esarhaddon.

669 Tirhakah re-conquers Egypt.

668 Esarhaddon dies; Assurbanipal expels Tirhakah.

667 Revolt of Egypt; captivity of Necho; death of Tirhakah; accession of Undamane, king of Ethiopia.

666 Second expedition of Assurbanipal to Egypt; Undamane expelled.

665 Siege of Tyre.

648 The king of Arabia invades Palestine, ravages the west of the Jordan and Hamath.

642 Accession of Amon king of Judah. 2 Kings 21. 19.

640 Accession of Josiah king of Judah. 2 Kings 22. 1.

626 Accession of Nabopolassar king of Babylon.

609 Expedition of Necho to Carchemesh; defeat and death of Josiah; accession of Jehoiakim. 2 Kings 23.

605 Nebuchadnezzar made king of Babylon; defeats Necho at Carchemesh, and conquers Palestine.

603 Revolt of Jehoiakim from Nebuchadnezzar.

598 Death of Jehoiakim; accession and captivity of Jehoiachin; accession of Zedekiah king of Judah. 2 Kings 24.

587 Siege and capture of Jerusalem; destruction of the temple. 2 Kings 25.

586-573 Siege of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar.

572 Nebuchadnezzar invades Egypt.

562 Death of Nebuchadnezzar; accession of Evil-merodach king of Babylon. 2 Kings 25. 27.

APPENDIX.

WHILE the work was in progress, I have made a few additional observations; which came too late for insertion in the body of the book; I have in consequence given this short Appendix, and insert with these notes some corrections of the texts.

In p. 36, under the year B.C. 748, in Canons II. and III., read Vul-bel-ukin instead of Vul-bel-uzur; and in Canon IV., read Assur-bel-ukin instead of Assur-bel-uzur.

I have found a large fragment, K 2800, belonging to one of the tablets mentioned in p. 77, and can now see that this text consisted of four columns of writing, the first part describing the eighth campaign of Sennacherib; the latter part stating that he found an inscription of Vul-nirari, a copy of which he gives. This inscription, copied in the time of Sennacherib, has the date in the eponymy of Mannu-ki-assur. I am unable to confirm my suggestion as to the 101 years between this date and Sennacherib's discovery of the inscriptions, because I cannot fix the date of the eighth campaign, which may have happened as early as B.C. 696, or as late as B.C. 691, and the tablet shows no connection with the fragment mentioning the 101 years.

There is an additional eponym to insert with those on p. 79, it is on a tablet of Tiglath Pileser I., K 2815, ". . . . . Ninip-nadin-pal, the great tukulu."

In p. 139, the 17th line of Extract XXXVII., read Abi-bahal instead of Albi-bahal.

I have assumed that in general the accession of a king was two years before his eponymy, but it should be noted that no accession is ever marked in the Assyrian eponym canon before that of Tiglath Pileser II., B.C. 745, while after this date, the year, month, and day of each accession are given. It would appear that greater precision was then introduced into the Assyrian records; and it is curious that the date of this change, B.C. 745, nearly synchronises with the date of the commencement of Ptolemy's canon at Babylon, B.C. 747, so that it is probable that some change in this respect took place at both capitals, at nearly the same time.

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Vol. VI., Egyptian Texts, *December*, 1875.

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